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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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10 JUNE 1987

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

PRIMARY PARTY BODIES CALLED TO LEAD WAY TO RESTRUCTURING

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 87 p 1

[Article: "The Active Position of the Primary Party Organization: Communists Have Been Called Upon to be the Organizers of the Restructuring in Their Collectives"]

[Text] The times today are exacting ones and require everyone to work creatively, to our utmost, in the spirit of restructuring, whether he be a manual worker or kolkhoz member, engineer or scientists, minister or party worker. An important role in this matter belongs to the primary party organization.

Life provides a large number of examples of the active approach taken by Communist Party members to the job at hand. For example, on the initiative of the party organization on the Kekhra Sovkhoz in Estonia the farm was restructured. All the departments changed over to the brigade contract and cost accounting was introduced. The party committee attempted to assign the manpower in such a way to assure that the influence of the party members was felt in the teams. The emphasis was made on inculcating in the party members a sense of personal responsibility, and their organizing role was increased. All this had a favorable effect upon the work. Last year each cow at that sovkhov yielded more than 4000 kilograms of milk. The labor productivity increased by more than 27 percent. The sovkhov workers have been holding onto those positions during the current year, and have been working with real enthusiasm.

This is only one of the examples that have been engendered by the restructuring. The combativeness of the primary party organizations is helping to overcome inertia and formalism. But these are only the first steps. A rather large number of difficulties stand on our path. And so the very first duty of the communists in the party's basic link is to lead everyone else, to be the organizers of the restructuring in their collectives.

Under the conditions of renovation, the attention of the primary party organization must be concentrated first of all on increasing the activity rate of the human factor. How has everyone's labor been organized? How productive is it? How strongly has discipline been established? To what degree is there an interrelationship between the labor results and the degree of satisfying the

person's needs? What kinds of relations are being established between coworkers, persons engaged in related operations, or managers and subordinates? The resolution of these and other questions will largely determine how things will get moving in the labor collectives, and, in the final analysis, in society as a whole. The primary party organizations are obliged, by their advice and comradely exactingness, to help people to define more precisely their place in the restructuring.

The most important thing is to extend -- not in words, but in deeds -- the work in the new manner. And this is determined by the changeover to cost accounting, self-financing, paying one's own way, and self-government. All this must become a matter of private concern for every member of the collective.

Real shifts are achieved more rapidly wherever communists make skillful use of their authority for increasing the demands with regard to the assigned job. The participation of the party organizations in the selection and placement of cadres requires a well-principled attitude. A good form of education is to require both the ordinary workers and the managers to give reports on the fulfillment of their duties, as specified in the party rules. The problems that come into the foreground at such time are such important ones as the improvement of the quality of output, the introduction of modern technological schemes and technology, the reinforcement of order and discipline, the fulfillment of contract pledges, and the saving of materials and resources. The primary party organizations must make more active use of their right to supervise the activities of the leadership, and must strive constantly to assure that all the decisions being made are implemented, instead of staying like a dead weight in the inactive files.

The situation in which the collectives live and work forces one to reinterpret also the role of the party organizations in resolving social questions, in creating the conditions for the improvement of the individual, for revealing the capabilities and opportunities of everyone. A vitally important task is to prevent a gap between the resolution of production tasks and the development of the social sphere, to take decisive steps to stop the efforts taken by certain economic managers to shun their responsibility for satisfying the workers' necessary everyday living and cultural needs. The questions of people's labor, health, and recreation take on special importance when the enterprises change over to two-shift or three-shift operation. In this area, as everywhere else, the bureaucratic approach is inadmissible. What is required is the maximum amount of concern and attention.

In order for the moral atmosphere in the labor collectives to become purer and for people to lose their enslavement to old ideas more rapidly, the primary party organizations must consistently and persistently deepen the democracy in the party and on the job. Such strong forms of democracy as openness and criticism and self-criticism must become the standard of life everywhere. A matter that has much promise is the election of managers, from the brigade leader to the director. Many reserves exist in increasing the effectiveness of party meetings. The approach of carrying out short-term campaigns, of making rhetorical statements, and of doing things simply for show is

inadmissible. Experience shows us that a real benefit is provided only by frank discussion and by thoughtful and specific analysis.

The combativeness of the primary party organizations and their ability to involve the entire collective in the restructuring largely depend upon the party's rayon and city committees and upon the extent of skill with which they organize the work with the low-level links. Other factors are the generalization of the best experience and the providing of prompt instruction, because it is no secret that many primary party organizations, for the time being, have been demonstrating their efforts poorly, have not been setting the tone for the restructuring, or even fail to understand its requirements or its inner essence properly. This pertains both to the organizing of work within the party and to the influence that communists have upon the situation in the labor collectives. Sometimes the atmosphere there is determined by people who are by no means the most aware individuals. We must in no instance allow ourselves to become reconciled to this situation or simply allow the situation to drift along of its own accord.

Not infrequently, as authors of letters to PRAVDA report, the party's raykoms do not listen attentively to the opinion expressed by communists in the primary party organization. And this, to a considerable degree, undermines the strength and authority of that organization. That is the story, for example, that was mentioned in a letter written by workers at the Angara Technical Sector of the East Siberian Basin Route Administration. Their chief, V. Volyntsev, was mixed up several times in dishonest matters. The first time the communists gave him a reprimand, with that fact entered in his record book. But the buro of the party's Sverdlovskiy Raykom, in the city of Irkutsk, reduced that punishment to a simple reprimand. And now crude instances of malfeasance on the part of the manager are being revealed again. The primary party organization has decided that V. Volyntsev should be expelled from the party and has recommended that he should be removed from the position that he occupies. But once again the raykom buro has not been listening to the communists' opinion. He has been allowed to remain in the party, and after a short period of time, is being transferred to a job at a superior organization. "So we have begun to wonder," the communists write, "whether our active position is really needed."

That is a reasonable and very serious question in this situation.

The restructuring requires every individual to show himself completely to be one of the real owners in his labor collective. The primary party organizations have been called upon to promote this in every way. The way in which they set the work tone, and in which they improve the work in each sector, will determine in the final analysis the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th party congress and the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

5075

CSO: 1800/480

COLLECTIVE ELECTS DARK HORSE CANDIDATE OVER PARTY FAVORITES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by N. Mironov, PRAVDA correspondent, under the rubrics "Throughout the Land of Soviets" and "Party Life: The Experience of Restructuring": "Third Man Elected..."]

[Text] This incident has surprised and perplexed many. They haven't stopped talking about it. The rumors are spreading like rings on the water, constantly picking up new details.

"Did you hear what happened to Pinkovskiy at Dneprogiproshakht?", they asked me with a touch of indignation and a bit of guarded disbelief. "As an experiment, they decided to elect a new department head. Two candidates were proposed, but the people nominated a third -- and elected him. The director even supported such arbitrariness."

"But this is good! Surely the people are the best ones to know those with whom they work side by side?"

"The fact of the matter is that they elected a new man, who hasn't even worked a year in the department," continued my interlocutor. "This is what democracy has come to."

"Democracy is pointless here," objected another. "We just can't escape cliches; we keep trying to adapt them to the changes in our lives..."

A year ago, it would have been difficult to even imagine that such a thing could happen. But restructuring is indomitably gaining a foothold in our society. And even the practice of electing directors of various ranks is increasingly becoming the rule, rather than an exception. People most frequently contest this because of failure to understand the processes which are occurring, because of old habits, because "elections of directors" grates the ear. But democratization is irreversible. And it is not a question of whether this is good or bad, but of whether collectives and their party organizations are ready for such innovations.

Why did a third man win?

The story began as follows. With the goal of improving the Dneprogiproshakht institute's management structure, it was decided to split up the industrial structures department. The former director, A. Molivanov, stayed on as chief of one of the subdivisions. It was necessary to find a candidate to become head of the second department. They looked in the promotion reserve list. Two people were listed there -- A. Prus, a sector chief, and A. Tkach, a deputy department chief. Each of them had a justified claim to become head of the new collective. Or, to be more precise, it was considered that "there was nobody more qualified." But they were at a loss as to which one of them should be given preference.

"To be frank," says the secretary of the institute's party buro, V. Zaboy, "we were afraid that someone might lodge a complaint if the choice went to the other. Of if he didn't come out with a complaint, then that he might hide his resentment inside himself, which is also no better. Therefore, when the director suggested that we submit solution of this question to discussion by the collective, we breathed a sigh of relief. As they say, two birds had been killed with one stone. On one hand, we would check ourselves with the people to see that we were not making a mistake. On the other, the person who got the boot wouldn't have anyone to complain about."

So, a box appeared in the department, and next to it -- a call to members of the collective to name their own candidates for the position of director of the new department. There turned out to be 5 nominations. This was the first surprise. For a start, they decided to discuss them openly at a general meeting. Two immediately withdrew their candidacies. The remaining ones included the comrades who had already been named -- both Prus and Tkach. But, along with them, the people had proposed D. Serebryakov -- a chief engineer who had been working in the department for a total of 7 months.

The question was phrased as follows: should each of them take over the department or not. They came to the conclusion that all of them should. There was basically no difference in the number of "for" and "against" votes in the balloting for each candidate.

However, this first vote was not conducted in a very high-principled way. It was a sort of rolling smooth of public opinion. Some people abstained from voting. Not everyone openly raised his hand, inasmuch as, at the time, it still wasn't known who would be working in which department. Moreover, discussion of the future director was, for the time, carried out in abstract terms: they didn't refer to my chief, but rather spoke "in general" and "in principle". In some cases the very same people raised their hands for all three...

I am intentionally directing special attention to this detail from the preliminary discussions because personal relationships, so important for the micro-climate of any collective, seem to have been pushed into the background at this stage. The question of the competence of the future director as an engineer and planner, of his ability to reach technically intelligent decisions, moved to the forefront.

From this position, I. Prus looked like the most experienced. He is 40 years old. He has been at the institute since 1972. Here, he rose from an ordinary engineer to sector chief. He possesses author certificates for inventions. He is a member of the institute party bureau commission for the introduction of new technical solutions and inventions.

And the other nominee -- A. Tkach -- was no less competent. The fitness report for his most recent certification speaks of the broad scope of his engineering and technical horizons and of his striving for innovation.

D. Serebryakov also was not the "dark horse" which they judged him to be outside the walls of the institute. Most members of the collective knew him from working with him there back in 1978-1980. Then he taught in a higher educational institution. For three years, he worked on the construction of mines in Poland. And after his return, they took him back in the position of senior engineer for the technical planning of metal construction elements.

Discussing the results, so to say, of the first round, the members of the party bureau concurred in one thing: each of the nominees was qualified to become head of the new department. And they were confident that the people would choose specifically one of those whose name had been in the reserve promotion list. And so, the 3 candidates were boldly included in the ballot for the secret vote, which this time was held by the smaller-sized department, which was called OPS-2. When they counted the ballots, the results surprised some. Out of 26 persons who took part in the vote, 17 had stated their preference for Serebryakov, 5 for Tkach, and 4 for Prus.

What happened? Why did the collective choose the "new man" and why didn't it support those who had been named in the reserve promotion lists? Up until now, not only the candidates for the position, but also those who recommended them, have not ventured to answer this question.

"They suggested in the rayon party committee that we share our experience," the party bureau secretary, V. Zaboy, noted with embarrassment, "but what kind of experience do we have here, when we ourselves are spreading our hands in a helpless gesture?"

"I am certain," the director of the institute, G. Pinkovskiy, says today, "if all 3 candidates were examined, as was earlier the practice, through a competitive commission, that there might be a different decision."

"?!"

"A competition -- this is still selection according to formal characteristics. This today I know, that Serebryakov is advantageously distinguished from the others by his ability to deal with people. And the people set a value on this. I consider that, in Serebryakov's case, they did not make a mistake. We were not afraid to trust the collective. In return, we can now also hold it accountable: indeed the people themselves have elected the director."

The concluding words of the director sounded optimistic. And there appear to be good justifications for this. The most important of these is the fact that the collective demonstrated maturity in its election of a leader. We note: a maturity, unexpected by many. Indeed, in the beginning, management proclaimed the cherished "let the collective decide" more for the sake of relieving itself of responsibility for the outcome of the matter.

But everything took a much more serious turn. Life came into collision with a blueprint solution and destroyed it. Real elections occurred. The opinion of the collective failed to fit in a Procrustean bed of excessive devotion to organization and formalism.

Is this good or bad? Let's say it directly: of course, it's good. But it also gives something to think about. If only that the director was chosen not from the party buro candidates who were listed in the reserve of personnel suitable for promotion. Consequently, the selection of people for the reserve needs to be approached with more attention today.

And something else. Why has what happened provoked something akin to fright among certain people, including party workers? Because they are unaccustomed to such a thing. Unaccustomed to people solving a personnel question themselves, to see them openly and directly express their own opinion. But, is it necessary to be afraid of this? No, it is necessary to get used to it.

13032

CSO: 1800/482

UKSSR OBKOM CHIEF SUPERVISES RAYKOM FIRST SECRETARY ELECTION

Moscow PARTINAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 6, Mar 87 [signed to press 10 Mar 87]  
pp 43-46

[Article by A. Mudrakov: "Rayon Party Committee First Secretary Elected by Secret Ballot"]

[Text] It was planned to start the plenum of the Sakhnovshchinskiy Rayon party committee in Kharkov Oblast off with an organizational question. The first secretary of the rayon party committee, A. Marakhovskiy, had been promoted to become chief of the oblast party committee's administration for everyday services. It was necessary to choose a new first secretary.

On the eve of the plenum, N. Plakhotnikov, who heads the oblast party committee's organizational party work department, visited many of the rayon's party organizations and labor collectives. He consulted with members of the rayon party committee, with communist party members, and with deputies of local soviets: who should become head of the rayon party organization? In frank discussions, it became clear that the people who were already listed in the reserve for first secretary enjoyed great trust. There were two equal contenders for the one spot. And the decision was then reached to submit both candidacies to an open discussion and to elect the first secretary by secret vote.

The members of the rayon party committee agreed with the proposal to hold the election of a first secretary in the new way. The candidates for the elective position also gave their consent.

It cannot, however, be said that everyone in the rayon accepted this innovation unequivocally. Evidently, it was not easy to overcome the force of habit, the inertia of old thought patterns. Thus, before the plenum, certain members of the rayon party committee tried to clarify among themselves which candidate the oblast party committee, nevertheless, favored most. But, having found out that both were considered equal, even these comrades understood that it would be up to them to make a choice themselves.

With the agreement of the members of the rayon party committee, the plenum was chaired by the first secretary of the Kharkov Oblast party committee, V. Mysnichenko. He introduced both candidates in alphabetical order -- Nikolay

Grigoryevich Karnaukh and Nikolay Alekseyevich Semenets. Both were well known to those present; their entire lives had been spent in their public view.

N. Karnaukh is 41 years old. He has been in the party since 1969. By education, a graduate animal technician. He began his career as a tractor operator at the Pobeda collective farm. Served in the army. Worked 7 years as party committee secretary at the collective farm imeni Kotovskiy and 8 years as chairman of the Bolshevik collective farm. Since December 1986, he has been an instructor in the oblast party committee department for agriculture and the food industry.

N. Semenets is 45 years old. He has been in the party since 1963. Graduate agronomist. Began his work activity as an unskilled laborer at the Cherboniy Step state farm. His subsequent job list: driver, brigade chief of an irrigation brigade, instructor, chief of the rayon Komsomol committee's department for Komsomol organizations, instructor of the rayon party committee, chairman of the collective farm imeni Kotovskiy, second secretary of the rayon party committee, and chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee.

Discussion of the candidates starts. Members of the rayon party committee come up onto the tribune. Their statements boil down, basically, to the fact that both candidates have an accurate understanding of the program for the restructuring needed in the rayon, and also know the ways which are being used to implement this program. A characterization of the professional qualities of the candidates was also given. Here are some of the statements.

V. Karyuk, party committee secretary at the Kommunist collective farm:

"I have known Karnaukh for a long time. Everything that he has set about doing, Nikolay Grigoryevich has done to the end and, in everything, he has justified trust in him. He has shown concern for the rank and file workers. Such qualities of his as humanity and honesty are particularly important. There is no conceit, his everyday life is modest."

T. Khonko, secretary of the rayon party committee:

"Both candidates, in my view, are equally good. Semenets has experience as a work manager and has deserved authority. His skill in working directly with people, his ability to get close to every individual, should be included among Karnaukh's strong points."

S. Malyavko, first deputy chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association (RAPO):

"While head of the collective farm, Karnaukh skillfully resolved many problems, was an intelligent director. Full cost accounting was introduced at the Bolshevik farm and economic indicators were stable. I consider one shortcoming of Nikolay Grigoryevich to be that he does not always succeed in expressing his thoughts precisely."

V. Voytsekhov, director of the state farm imeni 20th Anniversary of October:

"Our farm competes with the Bolshevik collective farm and it must be honestly admitted that the collective headed by Karnaukh most often has come out as the winner. Because he has devoted greater attention to social questions and has concerned himself with the building of schools, kindergartens, cultural and sports facilities. Nikolay Grigoryevich has a highly developed innovative sense and isn't afraid of difficult problems."

A. Mayborod, machinery operator at the Pyatyrickha collective farm:

"In my opinion, Karnaukh more completely meets the requirements which today must characterize a first secretary. And Nikolay Alekseyevich Semenets, as chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee is where he should be."

Everyone who wanted to was given a chance to speak. The chair proposed that other candidates, if there were any, also be submitted to discussion for inclusion in the ballot. There turned out to be no others. The plenum's participants chose a vote-counting commission and it set to work.

The system of voting was announced. The ballot for the secret vote contained two names -- Karnaukh and Semenets. They could cross out one name, or two and write in a candidate whom they had not discussed, but only one name could remain in the ballot. Only members of the rayon party committee could vote. There were 45 of them at the plenum. So that everyone would feel free in what he was doing, business offices in the building were made available and people were given an opportunity to go off by themselves to think over their choice in peace.

The results of the election were announced. All ballots were recognized as valid. There were no write-in candidates. Thirty-two persons voted for Karnaukh. Thirteen for Semenets.

N. Karnaukh was elected First Secretary of the Sakhnovshchinskiy Rayon party committee. By an open vote, he was unanimously elected a member of the rayon party committee buro.

We have asked the plenum's participants to share their ideas about what took place at it.

"You feel very unusual when faced with the necessity of making such a choice," says RAPO chairman, N. Shostak. "But restructuring necessitates this, and the benefits of the new approach are obvious. There is no question but that it will help us follow the path of giving support to thinking, energetic people of initiative, who can and want to move ahead and who know how to achieve success."

"Earlier, they usually brought in candidates for responsible posts in the rayon for us from the oblast," says Hero of Socialist Labor A. Gavrish, a machinery operator at the Pyatyrichka collective farm, joining our conversation. "Now, as we see, everything is different: Elections are being held democratically, openly. The members of the rayon party committee were

informed about the candidates, each thought over his own personal decision and openly expressed it. Now we ourselves bear responsibility for our own choice."

How did N. Karnaukh himself interpret the work of the plenum?

"I want to direct attention to the atmosphere in which the plenum took place," he said. Those present at it were infused with a feeling of unity in solving a common task, a feeling of comradeship. They spoke out boldly, with principle. And at the same time, in the party-like manner, respectfully with regard to us, the candidates. Certainly, everyone understood how important it is, during all changes, to carefully preserve party mutual respect. It is necessary to broaden democracy in elections, but it is also necessary to be concerned that it leaves no negative consequences, that this matter does not lead to resentment.

"Nikolay Alekseyevich Semenets and I know each other well from our joint work: he was the chairman of the collective farm imeni Kotovskiy, and I was secretary of the party committee at this farm. I learned a great deal from him. I am certain, despite the fact that he was not elected secretary, that esteem for him in the rayon will not diminish. And, in my eyes, his authority is, as before, high. We have a lot of work to do; problems are now becoming more complex. But it could not be otherwise: it is the duty of communists to be where things are more difficult."

The commentary of the first secretary of the Kharkov Oblast Ukrainian CP committee, V. Mysnichenko, follows:

"In my view, the step which has been taken is of great political significance. When organizing the election of the first secretary of the rayon party committee by secret ballot, we understood that we should be talking about new approaches to improving personnel work, to the search for new forms and ways to develop collegiality in party work.

"Following the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, questions of the effectiveness of restructuring and of personnel policy confronted, in full bloom, not only the party committees, but also every communist party member. It is necessary to effect a change in the consciousness of every person, to build up a psychological disposition to the new ways of managing affairs. And for this, there is a direct route -- the expansion of democracy and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

"The plenum of the Sakhnovshchinskiy Rayon party committee took place without any sort of organizationalism (zaorganizovannost). We proposed a new form of elections, and the members of the rayon party committee agreed with it. There was only one request -- that people express their views about the candidates freely, openly, and in a party-like way.

"Even now it is obvious that such an approach increases the responsibility of party members. A secretary, elected by the members of a rayon party committee following open discussion, senses to a considerably larger degree his own personal responsibility to the members of the organ which elected him. The

trust placed in him forces him to redouble his efforts for the solution of problems. On the other hand, there is also an increase in the responsibility of the members of the rayon party committee, as an organ of political management, for the state of affairs in the rayon party organization and for end results. That is, an additional incentive is created for a businesslike and energetic conduct of affairs.

"I'll note one characteristic item. In Sakhnovshchinskiy Rayon, preference was given to the person who had shown more concern about the solution of social problems, who had spent more effort to satisfy peoples' needs and demands. And in the future he will have to do even more in this work.

"Demands will certainly also be increased on the personal work of the second candidate. He was not turned down for lack of trust, but certain shortcomings were pointed out. Of two good candidates, the best was chosen. N. Semenets, without doubt, as chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee, will intensify his efforts.

"It is important that the new form of elections forces people to think independently when deciding questions of personnel placement. This is a method of drawing a broad segment of the electorate into management.

"At the same time, the first experience shows that there is a kind of guardedness by some comrades with regard to such a system. Not all people have succeeded in emancipating themselves, in consciously giving up a habitual election system that was developed over the years. Some party members demonstrated a false modesty and did not express their own attitudes toward the nominated candidates. And those who participated in the discussion of the proposed candidates, spoke in streamlined form, without telling everything completely. This, first of all, pertains to the second secretary of the rayon party committee, I. Krivega, who spoke in general terms, but not specifically, concerning each candidate. Some became absorbed in praise instead of directly and openly directing their remarks to the nominees, instead of analyzing the situation in the rayon through the prism of their activity. Incidentally, the situation is extremely complicated here. It is enough to say that, during the 11th Five-year Plan, the rayon fulfilled the plan only for 2 indicators out of 10. There also were no noticeable changes for the better last year. As formerly, grain crop, vegetable and potato yields remain below oblast indicators.

"In a word, full use was not made of the right that had been presented to an open discussion of the candidates for the position of first secretary of the rayon party committee and to his election by secret ballot. And this cannot be explained solely by the timidity of the speakers. It speaks to a style of the past, a devotion to old ways. It must be admitted that, during past years, many grew accustomed to dutifully raising their hands, as if approving both proposals and candidates while, in fact, manifesting full equanimity to the questions being discussed. As a result, what developed was only an appearance of democracy and of unity, instead of unity itself.

"This is why we certainly must devote more attention in the future to preparations for plenums at which the first secretaries of party committees

will be chosen by secret ballot. The members of the rayon party committee and the city party committee must know in advance about the possible candidates who will be nominated and must familiarize themselves with their biographies and with their labor and social and political activities. It is necessary to know more about the views of labor collectives and primary party organizations concerning them. Greater openness will then appear in discussions. It is necessary to have more precise justification, why preference is being given to one candidate or another.

"Being a candidate for a post, a person has set forth his own program of action. The rayon party committee surely needs to return to the promises of the first secretary after half a year has gone by. And what if his word deviates from practice? And what should he himself and those who recommended him for this post do in this case?

"We should think about what other kinds of work styles can be used so that people will be more independent in deciding questions of restructuring and of personnel policy. This will promote, even more, the initiative and the business-like character of the party members and of all the working people of the oblast.

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## MOSCOW CITY KOMSOMOL HOLDS CONFERENCE

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 87 p 1

[Report by D. Muratov, I. Sukhanov, and V. Yurteyev: "Our Concern Is Such"; "Notes from the 27th Moscow City Komsomol Committee Conference"]

[Text] Among those that were the first to enter the hall of columns of the House of Unions we noticed a lad in a school uniform. We conducted the first interview with Vasiliy Sidorov, secretary of the Komsomol committee at school No 45 in Sevastopolskiy Rayon.

"What do I expect from the conference? How do I visualize its work? I expect the conference to boldly discuss the most acute problems of the Komsomol. How to bring the vanguard role back to the capital's Komsomol? What should each of us do for this?"

The concern of the ninth-grade Komsomol organizer for the state of affairs at the Moscow City Komsomol Organization was fully substantiated. The accountability report by Stanislav Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow City Komsomol Committee, confirmed this. Having counted on the well-being of most young people, the city committee rested content with triumphant reports for too long and behind the activity of the active and conviction of the convinced did not discern in time the increase in complex contradictory processes both among young people and within Komsomol organizations.

The years of stagnant phenomena in our society have given rise to skepticism, disbelief in changes, and desire to do better in life at the expense of others. Many standards of morality and behavior have been shaken. "Night hunters" began to whirl in "white" dances and clubs of "rockers," "punks," and "metallists" and other youth associations sprang up like mushrooms after rain. Upon close acquaintance with their participants it turned out that many of them were Komsomol members, who did not find an understanding in the Komsomol and sometimes were rejected by it.

In recent years, however, behind the paper piles at Komsomol committees cracks in work with youth were not visible. The axiom that the Komsomol should fight for every young person, not sparing efforts or time, was

forgotten. It seemed that nothing should be changed and that older people should solve all the problems.

But what about the Komsomol itself? What can it do?

First, to exercise its legal rights, which we have not yet learned to use properly.

Why is it that today only 5 out of the 33 rayons in the capital have sections on youth in their plans for economic and social development? Why has the Sovetskiy Rayon Executive Committee dismissed the suggestion by the rayon Komsomol committee to include such a section in the 1987 plan? On the eve of the conference we asked S. K. Yeropkin, first deputy chairman of the Sovetskiy Rayon Executive Committee, this question. Sergey Konstantinovich answered then and there: The rayon committee suggested its idea late, the plan had already been imposed. "However, the lads' idea is correct. Before the end of the year we will include without fail a section on youth in the five-year plan," he said.

The Komsomol should get a little more business-like, concrete support. This will realistically help to augment its forces. This is what Lyudmila Kontsevaya, secretary of the Komsomol committee at the Krasnyy Oktyabr Confectionery Factory, told us:

Komsomol members in Oktyabrskiy Rayon looked closely at the Burgas floating restaurant for a long time. Champagne flowed like a river in the evenings there, but the Komsomol suggested that a nonalcoholic cafe be opened at the motor ship. When the matter came to a complete standstill, Lyudmila discussed this at the rayon Komsomol conference.

Yu. I. Larionov, chairman of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Executive Committee, silently rose and left the hall. After 1 hour he returned and asked for the floor. Before the delegates' eyes he tore the permit to sell champagne on the motor ship and handed the key to it to L. Kontseva: "Have it and establish your nonalcoholic cafe. I will be the first guest," said Yuriy Ivanovich.

Or let us take such a form of realization of youth rights as "Komsomol orders." On the initiative of rayon Komsomol committees they have already appeared at many city enterprises--at many, but not at all. The reason? Having received copies of orders from the most capable directors, the rayon Komsomol committees themselves have calmed down.

The following thought was continually heard in the report and speeches by delegates: The provisions concerning youth should be brought together. Today they are scattered over 115 decrees and enforceable enactments. A law on youth is needed. The city Komsomol conference addresses this suggestion to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Of course, the preparation for and the discussion of such a law need time. But hundreds of problems, including economic ones, which do not directly "enter" the functions of Komsomol committees, should be solved daily.

We were very interested in the address by electrician Tatyana Razumnikova, delegate from the Tushinskiy Rayon Organization.

Tanya herself is deputy of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, so she tested her proposal. She "got hold" of apartments for young specialists and helped to solve production problems. "Why not to establish Komsomol groups in local soviets? Why do Komsomol organizations hardly put forward their candidates for deputies and why won't one see a rayon Komsomol committee secretary as member of the soviet executive committee? Why should assignments not be given to Komsomol member deputies at Komsomol meetings and why should they not be regularly made responsible for them? Let us work together!"

Tanya's proposal seemed accurate and timely to us.

During one of the breaks we met with three participants in the conference--three Komsomol workers.

Their length of service in the Komsomol is reckoned only in weeks. Andrey Tarasov, first secretary of the Kirovskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee, was an installer of radio equipment during the recent past. Nikolay Fotnev, secretary of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Komsomol Committee, was an electric locomotive operator. Before his election as secretary of the Perovskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee Sergey Loktionov worked as an electrician.

They opposed the interview: "We have not yet done enough to give any evaluations." Nevertheless, here are their first impressions.

What was most surprising in the rayon committee work? Nikolay Fotnev: "Its terrible load." Before that he dealt with the rayon Komsomol committee as a member of the rayon committee bureau. In all honesty, he always considered Komsomol workers idlers. Now he realizes: They have a lot of work. Only it is not always really necessary and useful. Sometimes they do not get off the phone for entire days, but there are no results.

On the eve of the conference the Fund for Youth Initiative in Perovskiy Rayon was the first in the capital to receive the right of a legal entity and a bank account. Vadim Ivanov, first secretary of the rayon Komsomol committee, and Vladimir Kononov, graduate student at the Higher Komsomol School under the Komsomol Central Committee, defended its idea before rayon authorities. When the fund's constituent conference was held, Komsomol activists, "punks," "rockers," and "metallists" sat side by side in the hall of the Higher Komsomol School. They realized that the Komsomol did not push them away, but, conversely, offered cooperation and friendship.

With the fund's help residents of Perovskiy Rayon expect to more rapidly develop a network of clubs based on interests, "do-it-yourself" shops, and nonalcoholic cost accounting cafes, at the same time, not turning with outstretched hand to state bodies. Time gives birth to ideas. If in the economy we orient ourselves toward self-financing, self-management, and cost accounting, we must also talk about the new economic education of youth. The Fund for Youth Initiative is a step toward such education.

However, if in the meanwhile the Fund for Youth Initiative in Moscow only has a future, the movement for youth housing complexes already has both a sad past and an anxious present. Having shaken up the movement for youth housing complexes, the former city staff did not find a mutual understanding with the city Komsomol committee. Urgent measures had to be taken. However, even today the problem of youth housing complexes is one of the most acute in the city Komsomol organization. For example, Leningradskiy Rayon has all the conditions for the construction of youth housing complexes. However, the decision on the allocation of a construction site is unjustifiably dragged out by the Moscow City Soviet.

The hall responded with a friendly applause to the proposal by B. N. Yeltsin, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, to establish a Komsomol-youth cost accounting construction trust in Moscow. It should also utilize funds for the construction of almost 1.5 million square meters of youth housing complexes in the capital--funds specifically allocated by the city for youth housing complexes.

"People say: Give us tasks, point out problems to us. All of Moscow's problems are before you," B. N. Yeltsin said further. "Take, for example, the patronage over the Administration of Construction of the Moscow Subway. In 1933 within a few weeks 13,000 young men and women with Komsomol passes came to the subway construction, but last year only 183 people came. Get out of the state of lethargy and apathy more rapidly. The time has come to work actively, aggressively, and independently. The city party organization will always support you in a good endeavor."

And another detail in the portrait of this conference. Sergey Krasnikov, assemblyman fitter at the Machine Tool Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, was the second to appear at the conference rostrum. "I was a member of the city Komsomol committee for 2 years. What did I do? I went to plenums, listened, agreed, and voted. Once during the entire time I was given an 'assignment'--to attend a report and election meeting for the first time. I attended it. Nor did the commission for work with students give me any 'loads.'"

During the break we continued the conversation with Sergey.

"Tell us, do you have a member certificate for the city Komsomol committee?"

The surprised Sergey shrugged his shoulders:

"Are there such certificates? But then it seems that those that insist get them."

This was another lingering paradox. Members of elected bodies of the Moscow City Komsomol Organization do not have a document confirming their status and their rights and duties!

Perhaps this is also the reason the apparatus, not committee members, often feel that they are the sole masters in their organization?

We asked Sergey "in secret" whether he hoped to become again a member of the city Komsomol committee. Sergey Krasnikov, holder of the Order of the Red Banner of Labor, winner of the Leninist Komsomol Prize, deputy of the rayon soviet of working deputies, answered without a trace of embarrassment: "Yes! The primary Komsomol organization put forward my candidacy for membership in the city Komsomol committee and the Oktyabrskiy Rayon conference supported it. This is not what happened 2 years ago, when everything was kept 'secret' until the voting itself. What is there to hide? Komsomol members should know who will either fight for their rights, or keep quiet on the sidelines."

Together with Sergey Krasnikov Vasilii Sidorov, secretary of the Komsomol committee at school No 45--we began these notes with a story about him--was also elected to the city Komsomol committee. They do not yet know each other. However, there is already a matter, which has firmly connected the experienced worker, delegate to the 20th Komsomol Congress, and the ninth-grade Komsomol organizer: It is their concern for the fates of restructuring in the Komsomol and for the authority of its right-flank organization decorated with an order.

V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, participated in the work of the conference and spoke at it.

At the organizational plenum of the Moscow City Komsomol Committee S. Smirnov was again elected first secretary of the city committee.

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OBKOM SEEN FAILING TO MEET CPSU CC CRITICISMS

PM281031 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Apr 87 p 3

[Own correspondent I. Mordvintsev report: "Demandingness Is the Same for Everyone. From the Astrakhan CPSU Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Astrakhan--The latest plenum of the Astrakhan CPSU Obkom discussed the results of the CPSU Central Committee January plenum and the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Shortcomings in the Restructuring of the Astrakhan Party Obkom's Work." This document was published in the oblast newspaper VOLGA. It was also read at the beginning of the report by L. Borodin, first secretary of the party obkom. All participants in the plenum focused their attention on the resolution's stipulations and conclusions.

The CPSU Central Committee noted that the party obkom bureau and its secretaries continue to work in the old fashion, underestimate the urgency of accumulated problems and stagnation phenomena, do not exercise self-criticism in the assessment of their activity, deceive themselves, and are not demanding enough toward cadres. Actual work is replaced by the semblance of efficiency and piles of paper, and empty slogans are used, which are not backed by organizational and political measures. The party obkom and its apparatus have failed to create an atmosphere for free and frank discussion of acute questions, nor have proper measures been taken to expand openness. Criticism is not followed by practical actions, and there are even instances of persecution of those who boldly expose shortcomings.

The party obkom is failing to provide a party assessment of the stagnation phenomena accumulated in work with cadres. Various abuses by officials occurred recently in an atmosphere in which monitoring was lacking and permissiveness was rife. Instances of exaggerated or false reporting have become more frequent.

The lag allowed to build up during the previous 5-year plan period is being eliminated only slowly. Many qualitative indicators of the oblast's socioeconomic development failed to improve in 1986. There has been no growth in the level of equipment utilization and renewal, and return on capital continues to decline. Enterprises were found unprepared to work under conditions of self-financing, self-capitalizing, and state acceptance.

The party obkom failed to achieve a decisive turnabout by Soviet and economic organs toward working people's urgent needs and interests. The oblispolkom and its chairman, Mr Tyurin, are failing to draw conclusions from the serious neglect of the social sphere, taking no measures for its preferential development, and taking no account of the growing urgency of social problems resulting from the opening up of the gas condensate complex.

So, what does the obkom intend to do in response to this harsh but fair appraisal? After all, the CPSU Central Committee resolution says it bluntly: It deems intolerable the lack of initiative displayed by the party obkom, its bureau, and First Secretary L. Borodin toward questions concerning the restructuring of the work of the oblast party organization, Soviet and economic organs, and social organizations in the light of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions.

It was said with perfect clarity: Restructuring must begin with one's own self. Much was said about this, and also about how timely the CPSU Central Committee resolution was, both in the report and in the speeches. Nor was there any shortage of phrases like: "The appraisal is harsh but fair," "This discussion will no doubt provide a powerful impetus..." But alas, shortcomings were mainly just mentioned, as in the past, and were followed by a series of names--in parentheses--of the leaders responsible, probably numbering more than 100.

There was hardly any denial of the party obkom's complicity in all the errors and improprieties. But this, by itself, is not enough today. What is needed is an accurate diagnosis: How and where are the present methods of work with leading economic cadres malfunctioning, and what needs urgent correction here? Otherwise the "disease" cannot be cured.

The following thesis was put forward, for example: One of the most important aspects of restructuring is the fundamental change of attitudes to consumer goods production. "We have repeatedly spoken about this," the main speaker asserted, "but not everyone has understood it." This was followed by family names (eight of them altogether) and, instead of an objective analysis, by the edifying statement that this must not be tolerated in the future, that no one must be allowed to avoid manufacturing consumer goods.

Or take as example such an extremely urgent question as the construction of housing and projects for social, cultural, and consumer services purposes (the list contained 14 names, ranging from L. Asanidze, chief of the Astrakhan Oblispolkom Main Administration for Construction, to Yu. Kruglov, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom). It was stated that construction plans had not been fulfilled. What were the actual shortcomings in the work of the 14 leaders in question? We heard general phrases instead of a specific answer.

Of course, this type of self-criticism is extremely convenient. Our self-esteem is offended much less by general phrases repeated 100 times than by an accurate and political investigation of just one single blunder committed by us. Evidently aware of this and lacking the strength to cross over the familiar boundary, L. Borodin was forced to request the plenum participants

as follows: I am not being criticized here at all, he said. This is not right; the obkom first secretary carries no insurance against mistakes. So, criticize more boldly!

But something strange happened: Despite the clearly expressed invitation, the debate began in a way that was even more traditional than before. A. Meretin, secretary of Limanskiy party raykom; A. Shvedov, first secretary of Astrakhan Gorkom; and Z. Adzhigitova, milkmaid at "Kucherganovskiy" Sovkhoz, started a discussion about something very familiar and most commonplace--the imbalance between output and supplies and the excessive amount of paperwork originating at oblast level. They were apparently criticizing, but no one understood who was being criticized. And what did this criticism have to do with the agenda?

At long last, one of the plenum participants was forced to mount to rostrum and bluntly request the speakers not to deviate from the subject under discussion. After all, he said, in actual fact many negative phenomena in the oblast's economy stem from the inadequate demandingness displayed by L. Borodin personally toward leadership cadres. Some of them have been criticized time and again over the years for the same mistakes, and nothing has changed in the least. Even those involved in exaggerated reporting sometimes evade punishment. Why? Why are there still instances of guilty officials' being successfully transferred from one leadership position to another?...

But there was no breakthrough even after this totally frank reminder. The next speakers were three party obkom secretaries--K. Voronova, A. Guzhvin, and N. Kozlov--one after the other. And only one of them allowed himself to make a "general" remark against the first secretary. Leonid Aleksandrovich, it was said, gets carried away with giving specific instructions. Of course, obkom apparatus officials take his words as extraordinary commands, rush to obey them, and thus introduce extraordinary confusion into matters. Such cautious and apologetic criticism only goes to confirm the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the CPSU Central Committee resolution:: The party obkom and its apparatus have failed to create an atmosphere for free and frank discussion of urgent questions and are not taking proper measures too expand openness.

It is to the credit of Astrakhan communists that there were some among them who did not try to match the "dose" of criticism with the personality or habits of the first secretary, but spoke the truth. This is how it was done by, for example, A. Cherkashin, first secretary of the Kharabalinskiy CPSU Raykom:

"Here you are, Leonid Aleksandrovich, asking to be criticized. But over the many years while you have been leading the oblast party organization you have made us forget how to do it. Your contacts with people are limited to monologues: Do it, and do not question! As a result, last year our rayon was assigned such a plan for meat that leaders were forced to deliver even the calves. And what will you order us to deliver this year? And there is something else: Whenever you and Oblispolkom Chairman M. Tyurin visit the rayon, it is always in transit; you would rather inspect tomato plantations than meet people and the aktiv. Is this not why the farms' plans are afterward found to be unrealistic?"

"This style of leadership is afterward easily adopted by other oblast officials," G. Seleznev, first secretary of the Kamyzyakskiy CPSU Raykom, supported what had been said. "A few days ago G. Sagunov, one of the oblast agroindustrial committee leaders, gave the following reply when asked to coordinate decisionmaking with the grass roots: 'This has not been and will not be done. Once you start consulting everyone, there will be no time left for work.'"

"We are slipping into idle talk in conversations about restructuring," V. Bezzhonov, general director of Astrakhan's 60-Letiya SSSR Shipbuilding Association, declared. "We try to blame the theory: There is a struggle between the new and the old, we say, and therefore it is difficult. But is not all evil rooted in the fact that we very often and lightly make promises which we fail to keep? People no longer have faith in us. Take many of our social programs, for example...."

I would like to pursue the idea expressed by Valentin Nikolayevich. At present, there can be no discussion about Astrakhan without someone asking: And what is happening in the gas condensate field? Alas, this important state topic was not raised at the plenum. Only V. Prokofyev, secretary of the "Astrakhangazprom" Production Association party committee, mentioned in passing that he shares the concern with the state of affairs expressed by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in its series of articles entitled "Astrakhan Contrasts." Or is there nothing to talk about?

But here is just one fact. A regional scientific-practical conference was held in Astrakhan literally on the eve of the party obkom plenum. The following data were cited there. During the first 3 months of this year, the fields extracted just over 142 million cubic meters of gas which yielded 20,000 metric tons of sulfur. At the same time, around 60,000 metric tons of sulfuric compounds were released into the atmosphere--much more than envisaged in the plans. Taking into account the dangerous situation which is developing, the conference participants adopted by a majority of votes a resolution: To submit to the controlling organs a suggestion to suspend the construction of the gas processing plant's second stage until such time as the first stage is properly functioning, until such time as the production technology adopted here is set right, until such time as the problem of the development of social infrastructure and the retention of cadres is solved. Alas, the party obkom plenum did not even mention this serious suggestion.

I am writing these lines and thinking: Maybe the comrades from Astrakhan will perceive them as an effort to respond by piling up as many "negatives" as possible, including about people who were not to be criticized previously. This is, of course, not a matter of satisfying "personal journalistic ambitions," which were mentioned by way of a warning in L. Borodin's report in a similar context. It is rather a matter of eagerness to ensure that discussion at our plenums and aktiv meetings do not proceed like hockey matches when Tsska plays and the game is usually played only in one half of the field. If we are to have democratization, openness, and mutual demandingness, then they must be the same for everyone. Otherwise, how can we talk about a creative approach in party work? Otherwise, how can we expect to generate faith that the plenum resolution, which speaks so much about the elimination of stagnation phenomena, will be fulfilled without fail?

'TIMID' APPROACH OF BELGOROD OBKOM SCORED

PM101335 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Apr 87 p 2

[Report by special correspondents Yu. Antropov and A. Zolin: "Test by Restructuring. Notes From a Belgorod CPSU Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Such a thing had never before happened in the Belgorod Oblast party organization. Three party obkom members, who only quite recently held high posts, were transferred at a stroke to the category of former members.

N. Surkov, former chairman of the oblispolkom, expelled from the party by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee for systematic abuses of his official position for mercenary purposes, for degradation in morals and manners, and for unlawful interference in the work of administrative organs, automatically lost the right to be an obkom member. The plenum approved the Oktyabrskiy CPSU Raykom Bureau's resolution to expel V. Shevchenko, former chief of the oblispolkom internal affairs administration, from the party for violations of socialist legality and of the procedure for allocating housing and for serious shortcomings in selecting and placing cadres. N. Nikulin, former rector of the agricultural institute, was removed from the obkom because he had compromised himself by being involved in Surkov's affairs...

Before the plenum and during the breaks we talked with many participants in it. All spoke of what had happened with pain, alarm, and indignation. They voiced sincere concern that such exposures greatly undermine people's trust in the elected aktiv and in party and leading cadres generally. And it will be hard to restore that trust, many people said. And almost everyone was at a loss to explain how such a thing could happen.

Endeavoring to understand the reasons for what happened, some of our interlocutors could not help recalling other, no less alarming facts. Literally a year ago, as so at a stroke, Z. Gubareva, chief of the oblast trade administration, and V. Putivtsev, chairman of the oblast people's control committee, were removed from membership in the obkom. One for taking bribes on car sales, and the other for unscrupulousness and for protecting his son--which, in the final analysis, led the latter into crime. Polyakov, former deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, and Kurganskiy, former chief of the internal affairs administration crime detection department, were sentenced to long terms for taking bribes. Avramenko was quite recently released from the post of first

secretary of Borisovskiy party raykom "at his own request"--he had hit upon the idea of laying on a gas supply to his apartment from...the eternal flame. His "request" was respected--they did not dismiss him noisily or expel him from the party but gave him a severe reprimand and, after a pause, let him go in peace...

People were at a loss as to what was happening. For these were not just episodes or individual blunders but a chain of them rooted in the more distant past. We know that at that time cadres were frequently selected on the basis of signs of personal devotion and friendly ties. But the requirements have changed now, the old values are being reassessed, and the party is reviving the Leninist principles of cadre selection and training. This means, Communists reflected, that it is time we, too, drew serious conclusions and struggled more actively for the moral purity and political maturity of elected officials.

We heard similar thoughts and judgments at a meeting between A. Ponomarev, first secretary of the party obkom, and secretaries of primary party organizations. And we read remarks of that sort in letters responding to the obkom appeal to Communists and nonparty people to share their suggestions on ways and means to accelerate restructuring and enhance the militancy of primary party organizations. It was natural to expect questions of cadre policy, which are of such concern to people and have such a direct influence on the socio-economic development of labor collectives, to occupy the leading place at the plenum and receive a comprehensive political analysis.

Alas, the burning question of Surkov, Shevchenko, and Nikulin--for many people a painful question--was diffidently deferred until the end of the plenum and was made the second item, when one is no longer supposed to speak, as it were, and it is customary just to ask and make inquiries. The expected discussion did not come about. It took place under the flag of information: People listened, took into consideration, and resolved.

The report devoted literally two sentences to this: "Former leaders Surkov, Polyakov, Gubareva, Drygin (chairman of Belgorodskiy Rayispolkom--editorial note), and a number of others caused tremendous moral harm to the oblast party organization and the Soviets' prestige by their criminal actions. The obkom is still receiving many letters in which working people voice indignation at these degenerates." You see: Political harm has been reduced to moral harm...

So, then, what was the report about? A little bit about everything, and nothing specific, profound, or partial about anything much.

On comparing, for example, the versions of the reports, we noticed that the final version differs from the first ones only in terms of the number of platitudes. At the same time, it did not include interesting value judgments from the previous ones. Here is one of them. "In 1986 some 45 deputies of the oblast Soviet did not report back to the voters. In the current convocation they have not ensured the fulfillment of almost half the mandates within the prescribed times, and 27 of them have not been included in the economic and social development plan for 1987." These are even very good computations. They provide food for thought and for analysis.

Nor did the report reflect in full or even at all the remarks and suggestions made by people in their letters or at meetings with Obkom First Secretary A. Ponomarev. No wonder: They had not been analyzed earnestly, in depth, or collectively. The report was compiled by a limited circle of apparatus workers and in accordance with a principle that has long been known: a phrase or a section from each one (department). All the members of the elected aktiv whom we asked said: "We were not involved." The keynote speaker himself merely gave instructions and added the "final touches."

Despite the fact that the volume of industrial production increased 9 percent last year, and labor productivity increased 7.4 percent, braking forces are still making themselves felt. The economic machinery is turning over with great effort and creaking. This entails expense in the organization and conditions of work and daily life and losses of means, time, and quality. Over the past 2 years, for example, 19 products have been deprived of the seal of honor. Last year approximately R9 million allocated for housing construction remained unassimilated. That meant a shortfall of 36,000 square meters. Over the year the oblast fell in the "table of ranks" from 37th to 42d place in terms of the volume of consumer services per inhabitant.

Clearly, extra effort is needed to rev up the economy properly again. But what kind of effort, and who specifically should make it primarily, and where and when? Unfortunately, it is hard to find a clear answer to these vitally important questions in the report.

It hardly mentioned the modernization and technical renewal of enterprises, although there is a great need for this--one-third of the active part of production capital is clearly obsolete and needs replacing.

How is the assimilation of economic methods of economic management proceeding? How are the collective contract and financial autonomy being introduced? Unsatisfactorily--many people know that. Where is the weakest link here, on which the attention of party and economic workers must be concentrated above all? The plenum participants did not hear an analysis based on a close study of reality. And so the tasks for the future were set in the spirit of appeals: It is necessary to raise, increase, take measures...

Shoots of self-management and democratization of production and social life have recently been making themselves felt increasingly actively and widely in the oblast. Individual collectives and party committees are beginning to practice the systematic study of people's opinions and elections of leaders. "And what have the first steps shown?" the keynote speaker asked. And he replied: "...This makes it possible to involve a wider circle of people in the discussion of candidates for promotion and to evaluate a person's personal and professional qualities objectively and comprehensively." Not a word more. Such is the level of analysis of extremely important processes that are capable of enhancing the creative, business, and civic activeness of the masses. And then there was the usual "puzzlement," recommendations briefly suitable for the matter in hand...

We know that it is impossible to enhance the efficiency of organizational and mass political work without purposefully improving the activity of the apparatus of party committees. What new things have appeared in the arsenal of means of the obkom and the oblast's gorkoms and raykoms? How skillfully are they mastering political methods of leadership? These are certainly not idle questions. They still receive many rebukes for taking the place of economic and Soviet organs, misusing the holding of conferences and operational meetings, and doing little to tackle the direct organization of things in labor collectives. As previously, cadres are frequently selected and promoted on the basis of answers to questionnaires, bypassing primary party organizations. It remained unclear how these and other gaps in style and methods will be eliminated and whose specific experience will be used to do so.

The same pretentiousness, fast talking, and emphasis on insignificant facts predominated in the analysis of the cadre policy of party committees. All the same, this question was raised at the plenum, albeit timidly and uncertainly: Who was and still is behind Surkov, Shevchenko, Polyakov, Shentsev, Avramenko, Savotchenko, and many others? For Obkom Secretary V. Ilin and N. Garmashov have been on the bureau for 10 or more years, and A. Ponomarev himself is no novice there. They must have known how the mechanism of favoritism and friendly ties operated when placing "one's own" and "necessary" people. The whole oblast knows that Surkov and his entourage and many other failed senior officials enjoyed the special favor of the former first secretary of the party obkom. It was precisely he who promoted them step by step to higher and higher posts. Why did V. Ilin, N. Garmashov, and other speakers in the debate keep quiet about this?

The half-truth has never led to the recovery of the social organism. On the contrary, it drives the disease inside and creates conditions for a new outbreak. Unfortunately, not one speaker ventured to formulate the question in precisely this party-minded and principled way. And this circumstance convincingly attests over and over again that Belgorod party obkom is embarking timidly on the path of overcoming stagnant phenomena.

/9716

CSO: 1800/614

BSSR MINISTER OF CULTURE DISCUSSES CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Minsk SELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Yu. Mikhnevich, BSSR minister of culture: "Lessons of Openness"; "Workers at Rep[ublic's Cultural Bodies Report to the Population"]

[Text] I remember our reports to the population during past years. On returning from several such meetings in different regions, I once again spread before me a pile of notes with hundreds of questions and began to reread and analyze them attentively. The range of problems touched upon in them was extremely wide.

Written answers and explanations were given to a number of inquiries. At workers' suggestions the construction of many rayon and city houses of culture was included in our programs for the 12th Five-Year Plan and provision was made for the further development of a network of children's music schools, opening of a number of museums, restoration of historical and cultural monuments, and improvement in the personnel training and retraining system. Some requests and remarks were already put into effect. An open and direct talk with the population about disturbing and acute problems concerning the organization of leisure bore its fruits.

Now, in February, regular reports by workers at the republic's cultural bodies are presented to urban and rural workers. Widely informing the participants in meetings of present affairs and prospects for the future, we report on what was done during the year, what we did not manage to do, and what we must realize.

Under the new conditions, when the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress have given a revolutionary impetus to the country's development, the need for a decisive turn to the qualitative aspect of the matter is put in the forefront.

For example, let us take the expansion of paid services for the public--an important matter, which is by no means the last on the agenda.

Many of our clubs organize family celebrations and rituals and the rental of technical facilities, musical instruments, phonograph records, and tape recording and video cassettes. Along with traditional forms, paid concerts by

amateur singing and dancing groups and the organization of circles and schools for dance choreography occupy an ever more visible place in the structure of services provided to the population. Experience in the establishment of cost accounting wind orchestras and vocal-instrumental ensembles and discotheques is also becoming widespread in the republic.

The Second All-Union Festival of Folk Art devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October, which is held in the country, is directed at people's fuller utilization of the wealth of spiritual and material culture and at forming and meeting their needs. It promotes the involvement of new participants in amateur art activities and the establishment of new collectives. In less than a year from the beginning of the festival about 1,300 new amateur groups and associations, 24 wind orchestras, and 21 orchestras of folk instruments appeared in the republic. The chief thing now is to see to it that these collectives are not "for an hour," not for the sake of the festival alone, but steadily gain creative height and tenacity and become a school for ideological and esthetic education for thousands of workers.

Improvement in the activity of amateur associations and clubs based on interests requires special attention. About 800 were established last year alone. Such a rapid development of these forms of leisure raises the problem of cadres of managers. As we see it, the rural intelligentsia--agricultural specialists, teachers, and physicians--can play an important role in its solution. Their detachment in our rural areas is numerous. However, it is still often aloof from cultural life.

I recall a meeting with the intelligentsia in the Polesye village of Dolgoe in the Soligorsk area. At the local House of Culture at that time an interesting and useful talk was conducted on the perceptible and marked influence of agricultural specialists, teachers, and medical workers with diplomas on the spiritual climate in the village. Dolgoe has a good modern House of Culture, not a bad library, and conditions for the work of amateur associations and circles. However, the problem of drawing the local intelligentsia into them is acute. One of the reasons lies in the fact that there is no good organizer and cultural workers do not settle down here, changing one after the other.

Farm managers and the rayon Department of Culture acted correctly when they sent a local girl, Alia Mikhnovets, to study at the Minsk Cultural-Educational School as a scholarship student from the kolkhoz. It is to be assumed that the young specialist will settle down among the people from her village, will find her calling, and will become an instigator of good deeds and a "catalyst" of the creative energy of rural members of the intelligentsia.

It has been estimated that in our republic, on the average, every rural House of Culture accounts for 80 to 120 specialists with higher and secondary education who work in its vicinity. It is not difficult to imagine what an active force they can and should become in the development of amateur associations and other club formations.

For the time being, however, in Soligorskiy Rayon, for example, there are 900 teachers, but only a few more than 160 participate in amateur art activities; out of almost 1,000 agricultural specialists, a few more than 100 and out of 325 medical workers, 25. The situation in other places in the republic is no better.

Serious thought should be given to sending pedagogical staff with elementary musical education to rural areas. They could make an important contribution to the development of culture. To be sure, we lose a great deal, because rural soviets, party organizations, and many managers underestimate the capabilities of the local intelligentsia, this broadest category of ideological workers.

Even though facts convince us that the attitude of party organizations and farm managers toward culture has been changing for the better recently, it has been changing quite slowly. It is an indisputable truth that, where production and culture keep up with each other, the farm is stronger. This is also the point of view of Hero of Socialist Labor Vitaliy Ignatyevich Zheleznyak, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Gomelskiy Rayon, where problems concerning the villagers' leisure and their spiritual growth are handled with deep understanding.

Vitaliy Ignatyevich himself together with his family, like the party committee secretary and chief specialists, participate in amateur art activities, setting an example to others. The kolkhoz board has found it possible to bring in at the farm's expense another six people--accordion players and directors of dance and choral groups, of a wind orchestra, and of an orchestra of folk instruments--in addition to two staff workers at the rural House of Culture.

The Kolkhoz imeni Lenin annually allocates 40,000 rubles for cultural measures. They include expenditures on incentives for participants in amateur art activities, on the purchase of musical instruments, and on the replenishment of the wardrobe of rural artists. Last year 15,000 rubles were spent on restoring the Museum of Combat and Labor Glory.

There are many such examples in the republic. Therefore, we must no longer put up with the indifference of some economic managers and local soviets calmly looking at broken down and locked clubs and at young people drifting into idleness.

Our club workers still rarely offer people a rich selection and the technical facilities are poor. The situation should be changed this year with the commissioning of new norms of financing club institutions. The funds allocated to the republic for equipping them with technical facilities, musical instruments, and educational and recreational gear in 1987 were almost 2.5 times more than last year.

Problems concerning the material and technical base of club institutions arise acutely during meetings with the population. This anxiety is understandable: After all, most of them do not meet modern requirements. These shortcomings have been accumulating for a long time. For the time being, we have not

succeeded in advancing noticeably in the strengthening of the material base and in public services and amenities on club territories. Tremendous work is also ahead of us here.

It is gratifying that now there is a real turn away from the notorious "surplus" principle of planning funds allocated for the development of culture, which was subjected to sharp criticism at the 27th Party Congress. This is confirmed by the more than double increase in allocated appropriations ensuring the fulfillment of the stepped-up program for cultural development. New buildings for almost 82,000 places will be commissioned during the five-year plan. Plans are made to build 21 rayon houses of culture, to complete the reconstruction of the Museum of Socialist Transformation of Polesye in Pinsk and of Mogilev and Vitebsk oblast museums of local lore, and to commission the first stage of the Museum of Folk Architecture and Way of Life near Minsk and many other things.

Strengthening the material and technical base will open new opportunities for enriching cultural and educational work. However, not for a minute do we have the right to forget that these opportunities must be utilized wisely, intelligently, and efficiently. With due regard for the demands of the times and workers' suggestions we have developed an overall plan for the esthetic education of the republic's population for the next few years and the distant future.

There are still many urgent problems connected with the organization of free time and cultural services for the public. The ways of solving them can be found by common efforts, submitting the topic, which is of concern to everyone, for extensive public counsel. Such a business-like and interesting talk is now going on when cultural workers--from the minister to the head of a club--present reports to the population.

We will continue improving the forms of work based on the principle of openness. A direct, impartial evaluation of hackwork, poor taste, lack of organization, and irresponsibility in the organization of leisure is given during direct meetings with people. No statistical tricks can conceal shortcomings here. Reports are a serious test and an expression of the need to reconstruct all our work purposefully and persistently, fulfilling the program for cultural construction in the republic dictated by the spirit of the times.

11439

CSO: 1800/489

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

BSSR BURO STRESSES NEED TO CONSIDER, IMPLEMENT INNOVATIONS

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 1 Apr 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Buro of the Belorussian CP Central Committee at a meeting on 30 March reviewed the problem of carrying out the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Trade Union Council and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee "On Measures for the Further Development of Amateur Industrial Arts." Party, soviet, trade-union, and komsomol organs of the republic, BSSR ministries and departments, associations, enterprises and organizations were instructed to conduct an operational review and qualitative evaluation of suggestions by amateur inventors and of the manufacture and testing of their designs through the facilities of industrial enterprises, so that not a single useful idea of industrial arts enthusiasts should be left without attention and subsequent utilization in the national economy.

The adopted decree on this problem provides for the extensive development of clubs for amateur industrial arts. It recognizes the advisability of developing Houses of Technology, including a republic-level one in Minsk, together with clubhouses in the cities of Brest, Vitebsk, Baranovichi, Bobruysk, Borisov, Volkovysk, Lida, Molodechno, Orsha, Pinsk, Polotsk, Rechitsa, Svetlogorsk, Slusk, Solidogorsk.

The meeting discussed results of the republic's socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and socialist obligations for 1986. It was recognized that the restructuring of the republic's economy and switch to intensification was proceeding for the present slowly. Many associations, enterprises and organizations, and many rayons, cities and oblasts were not meeting the most important industrial and social indicators for planning. Socialist competition, the organization of which has serious shortcomings, is not being fully utilized for the mobilization of reserves for the growth of labor productivity and for the strengthening of organization and discipline.

In view of the fact that not a single oblast fulfilled all plan indicators for economic and social development together with its socialist obligations, it was decided not to designate a winner for the 1986 competition.

The following winners were recognized for city and rayon competitions:

For successful fulfillment of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development, Slusk, Sovetskiy Rayon in Gomel, and Buda-Koshelevskiy, Lyubanskiy, Mctislavskiy and Rechitskiy rayons;

For best results in the intensification of production by introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress, Baranovichi and Kletskiy Rayon;

For improving the quality of industrial production, Leninskiy Rayon in Brest;

For the best indicators in developing the production of consumer goods and services, Ivanovskiy and Ivyevskiy rayons;

For the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans for the construction of housing and projects for social or cultural purposes, Glubokskiy, Logoyskiy and Maloritskiy rayons and Frunzenskiy Rayon in Minsk.

The BSSR Central Committee Buro has committed party, soviet, trade-union, Komsomol and management organs of the republic, in furtherance of the June (1986) and January (1987) plenum directives of the CPSU Central Committee, to ensure greater improvement in the organization of socialist competition, leading the efforts of workers towards the achievement of high indicators for the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The BSSR Central Committee Buro meeting reviewed proposals and criticism concerning party and state organs, ministries and departments of the republic expressed at the 28th Congress of the BSSR Komsomol, and it outlined measures for their implementation. Resolutions were also adopted for certain other matters pertaining to party-organization political-education activity, together with social, political and cultural projects.

12889

CSO: 1800/538

MINISTRY CRITICIZED FOR NEGLECTING ECONOMIC EDUCATION OF CADRES

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 4 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by A. Kornilov, adviser at the Moldavian CP Central Committee's House of Political Education: "Characteristic Errors"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] A working group on economic education under the Moldavian CP Central Committee's ideological committee examined the work of the council for economic education of the MSSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services regarding improving the economic preparation of cadres in developing modern economic thought and in instilling in workers intolerance of fraud, mismanagement and waste in light of the decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee plenum.

A report was made by P. Prasol, deputy minister of the MSSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services and chairman of the branch council for economic education. The following took part in the discussion: G. Singur, director of Institute of Economics, MSSR Academy of Sciences; I. Yurash, first deputy chief of the MSSR Central Statistical Administration; E. Gavrilitsa, director of the republic interbranch institute for raising the qualifications of the leading cadres and specialists of the national economy, and others. V. Yakovlev, director of the economics department of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, summarized the discussion.

It was noted that the Ministry is not exerting an active influence on the equipping of branch workers with economic methods of administration, familiarizing them with up-to-date economic thought and socialist enterprise. In a number of branch enterprises only 10-to-18 percent of workers are studying in schools of economics and seminars, the majority of them engineering and technical personnel.

Many enterprise managers and organizers of study programs do not know the current requirements and methods of instruction for economics studies. The councils for economic education are often inactive, and the administrations and trade union organizations often hold themselves aloof from this form of activity. As a consequence studies in schools of economics are conducted irregularly, and often resemble planning sessions, acquiring a purely pedagogical character. More than half the students at accredited schools poorly assimilate the curriculum.

The preparation of propagandists in theory and method is of a low order. Almost a half of them are not attending seminars and are not preparing themselves for their studies; they lack the requisite study materials and are limited to reading clippings from newspapers and magazines. Most propagandists and students do not study the works of V. I. Lenin of the pre-October period.

In a number of schools for political administration of municipal services of Sovetskiy and Frunzenskiy rayons, in the construction and repair administration "Moldlift" in Kishenev, and in enterprises and organizations of the MSSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services in the cities of Bendery and Tiraspol, in Leovskiy Rayon and elsewhere, only formal lip service has been paid to the CPSU Central Committee resolution of 14 October 1986 and to the 4th plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, and the study program has degenerated into the reading of newspaper clippings and people's control information on falsification of records. Propagandists have not been able to instill in each student an understanding to the falsehood inherent in talk of the harmlessness of "petty" price falsification. This failure is borne out by the fact that in 11 out of 26 enterprises and organizations in November-December 1986 there were reported violations in staff estimates, account falsifications and misrepresentations in the state bookkeeping, but all of these facts were covered up, and not at the initiative of students but by the monitoring agencies.

Studies are poorly coordinated with the productive activity of the students; they are not accompanied by an analysis of progress made in fulfilling socialist obligations or proposals for improving the efficiency of production. In 90 percent of accredited schools this work is not even begun. The level of preparation in economics is poorly taken into consideration in rating qualified workers and certifying specialists.

The deficiencies in organizing and restructuring economic studies were largely brought about by poor management on the part of the ministry's council for economic education (P. B. Prasol, chairman and first deputy minister). The council has not properly monitored the organization and curriculum of schools of economics in the enterprises and institutions under its jurisdiction; the assistance to propagandists with respect to information and method has been extremely poor, and efforts to improve the supply of teaching materials have not been carried out.

Inattention to the organization of workers' economic education has proved to be a deterrent to the restructuring of economic thought among the cadres, to their understanding of the economic changes that have been taking place, and to the transformation in style and methods. For these and other reasons there has been a negative influence upon the results of work in 1986 and in the first two months of 1987.

The working group on economic education under the Moldavian CP Central Committee's ideological committee noted that the deficiencies that have appeared in the organization of economic compulsory education under the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services in the republic are inherent in many other ministries and departments. Under the transition to economic methods of management and the extension of independence on the part of enterprises and associations, it is therefore important to use all forms of mass economic education to arm cadres at all levels with the necessary professional and economic

knowledge, with the achievements of scientific management, and with new methods of management. It is expedient at meetings of branch soviets to discuss the progress being made to implement the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Organization of Political and Economic Education of Workers in Academic Year 1986-1987." It is necessary to strengthen supervisory control over the organizations and their study curriculums, to provide ways to strengthen their practical applications, and to improve the significance of economic preparation by improving the ratings of workers and certification of specialists. It is essential to improve the activity of the soviets in providing propagandists with study programs, including informational and instructional materials on their course subjects, by strengthening the supply of teaching materials.

12889

CSO: 1800/539

MSSR CC SECRETARIAT EXAMINES QUALITY IMPROVEMENT CAMPAIGN

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Mar 87 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "In the Moldavian CP Central Committee": "The Urgent Task of Cadres Is to Carry Out a Decisive Turning Point in Fundamentally Improving the Quality of the Output Being Produced"]

[Text] The Secretariat of the Moldavian CP Central Committee has considered the question of the tasks of fundamentally improving the quality of output in the light of decrees issued by the CPSU Central Committee and the Moldavian CP Central Committee on that question.

It was noted at the session that -- as has been attested to by an analysis of the rate of fulfillment of the decrees about improving the quality of the quality being produced, which decrees have been adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Moldavian CP Central Committee -- many ministries and departments, party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations have worked out specific measures that are aimed at creating the appropriate organizational, technical, and economic conditions for highly productive labor. Most enterprises and branches have worked out comprehensive target programs for improving the quality, reliability, service life, and competitive capability of industrial output for 1986-1990. We have seen the completion of the elaboration of the republic's comprehensive Kachestvo-90 [Quality-1990] program, in conformity with which the production of output in the highest quality category will increase by the end of the five-year plan by a factor of 2.9, and its share in the volume of output subject to certification will increase from 51 to 82.5 percent. There will be an increase by a factor of almost 1.5 in the production of consumer goods with improved quality, bearing the indicator N [new item], and of especially fashionable articles in the light-industry products list.

There has been an intensification of the monitoring of the observance of the standards and specifications, and the quality of output, on the part of the Moldavian Republic Administration of Gosstandart and of other monitoring agencies. State acceptance was introduced at 22 industrial associations and enterprises as of the beginning of the present year. During January alone, state acceptance prevented inferior output with a total value of 10.3 million rubles from being shipped to the customers.

The steps that have been taken contributed to a situation in which the republic's industry overfulfilled the 1986 plan for producing output in the highest quality category, and 265 different types of articles are being produced with the State Quality Seal. There has also been overfulfillment of the plan for producing improved commodities with the indicator N in light industry, as well as especially fashionable articles to be sold at contract prices. The total amount of them that were produced in the past year had a total value of 619.4 million rubles, which is 13.4 percent more than in 1985.

At the same time the share of output with the highest quality category in the overall volume of commercial output last year constituted only 8.3 percent, which is even lower than in 1985. An especially sharp reduction occurred at the Elektromash Plant in Tiraspol, the Kishinev Elektromashina Plant, food equipment plant, the Vibropribor Plant, the Kishinevskiy Transportnyy Zavod Association, the mirror factory, and a number of Ministroymaterialov [Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry] plants. Serious areas requiring additional work in matters of output quality were revealed in the course of an inspection at the Komplektkholodmash Plant in Strasheny.

Areas requiring additional work manifested themselves with particular clarity in the work of raising the technical level and improving the quality of the output being produced at the 22 enterprises in the republic's industry which were operating under state acceptance conditions in January. Their managers and party organizations underestimated the importance of this major measure in carrying out the restructuring, failed to show the proper responsibility in preparing for it, and displayed sluggishness and inconsistency in resolving the specific questions linked with the activities of the nondepartmental control service. No steps were taken to improve the organization of production or to provide the enterprises with a sufficient quantity of metrology equipment, rigging, tools, or technical and design documentation.

The lack of preparation for working under the new conditions led to a large failure in the fulfillment of the January plan. Only six of the 22 enterprises coped with the assignments for the month that had elapsed. A number of enterprises, including the Yedintsy Woodworking Machine Plant, the Rybnitsa Pump Plant, the Elektrotokpribor, and Vibropribor plants of the Volna PO [Production Association] imeni K. U. Chernenko and the Moldavgidromash PO submitted to state acceptance only 20 to 45 percent of the output on the monthly plan. The January plan for the production of commercial output was not fulfilled by the Elektromashina Plant, the refrigeration equipment plant, the Elektromash, Moldavkabel, electrical-engineering, electrical-illumination fittings, and other plants. All this had a detrimental effect upon the work results of the enterprises in the union branches and the republic's entire industry. For this branch as a whole, the total value of the output that was undershipped was 11 million rubles.

At many enterprises the level of technological discipline continues to be low, there are deviations from the design documentation and standards, and defective output is produced. The technical control services have been working poorly and have been accepting articles with deviations from the assigned parameters. As a result, the Moldavian Republic Administration of Gosstandart, during an inspection in 1986, revealed instances of violations of

the requirements specified in the standards at 338 enterprises. The sale of substandard output was banned 550 times. This is an increase by a factor of 1.5 as compared with the previous year, and at enterprises in Beltsy and Bendery, a factor of more than 2.2. There was also an increase in the number of economic sanctions, and the value of the output excluded from the enterprise reports on plan fulfillment constitutes 6.1 million rubles. Major sanctions were applied to enterprises of Gosagroprom [State Agroindustry], Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry], Moldavpotrebsoyuz [Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives], Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry], and the Elektromash Plant in Tiraspol. On the basis of recommendations by Gosstandart agencies, the administrative commissions of the city and rayon ispolkoms fined 568 officials for failing to guarantee the production of high-quality output.

The managers of many enterprises have not been achieving the precise, smooth operation of the shops and sectors; have been engaging poorly in the job of raising the proficiency level of the workers and specialists; have not been paying the proper attention to the creation and normal functioning of the quality groups which are an important form by which the workers can exert an effect upon the quality of the output being produced; and have been failing to observe the proper procedure and failing to fulfill the plans for the certification of industrial output.

Many ministries and departments have not been taking the necessary steps to carry out the remodeling and technical re-equipping of production, to achieve a fundamental renovation of the articles, or to organize the production of output at a qualitatively higher level. There have been frequent instances when the new technology being created by specialists at the scientific-research and planning-and-design organizations proves to be obsolete while it is still in the design stage and cannot withstand comparison with the best worldwide prototypes.

The Moldavian Republic Administration of Gosstandart has not been completely revealing its role in resolving the quality problem. Its workers sometimes ignore instances of violation of technological discipline or the requirements stated in the standards. As a result, every inspection carried out by them proved to have a low success rate.

There has been no fundamental restructuring in the work performed by the party's gorkoms and raykoms in the practical implementation of the task advanced by the party -- the task of improving the quality of output. Many of them failed to define the precise directions that their work would take, and have been rendering insufficient assistance to the primary party organizations in restructuring their work style, in increasing the activity rate of the low-level party links, and in intensifying the party influence upon the resolution of the specific problems of quality and upon developing a mass movement for raising the technical level and increasing the competitive capability of the articles. The trade-union and Komsomol organizations are being insufficiently involved in this.

The Secretariat of the Moldavian CP Central Committee has directed the attention of the managers of the MSSR ministries and departments and the party's gorkoms and raykoms to the unsufficient work of fulfilling the

requirements in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Moldavian CP Central Committee that pertain to the decisive raising of the technical level and the improvement of the quality and competitive capability of the output being produced; to the lack of proper persistence and purposefulness in the work being performed by the cadres; and to the slow restructuring in the implementation of these party principles.

Notice has been taken of the unsatisfactory work performed by most of the industrial enterprises that began the year under conditions of state acceptance, with regard to the fulfillment of the plan for January of this year, and of the low level of preparation for working under conditions of nondepartmental control. It has been recommended to the managers and the party organizations at those enterprises that they analyze the causes that have been hindering their work under the new conditions and that have been exerting a detrimental influence upon raising the technical level and improving the quality of the articles being produced, and that they take decisive steps to improve the organization of production and its metrological support, to assure the observance of technological discipline, and to intensify the responsibility borne by the cadres for implementing the party's requirements in fundamentally improving the quality of output and for fulfilling the state plan.

The ministries and departments, the party's gorkoms and raykoms, and the primary party organizations, guided by the principles enunciated at the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the need for the further increase in the activity rate of the work of restructuring, of increasing the efforts in all areas of that restructuring, must carry out a decisive turning point in fundamentally improving the quality of the output being produced. For purposes of the unconditional attainment of the goals stipulated for the 12th Five-Year Plan by the comprehensive target Kachestvo-90 programs, special attention is to be devoted to the broad introduction of management forms and methods that are based on cost accounting, payment of one's own way, and self-financing, and to increasing the independence and responsibility of the managers and the labor collectives for the final work results and the high quality of the output being produced.

The party's gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, and the trade-union and Komsomol organizations must strive for the constant reinforcement of order and discipline in production, which are decisive factors for improving the quality of output. Decisive steps must be taken to get rid of an atmosphere of complacency and indifference in the labor collectives, and to make the movement for the quality of output a truly mass movement. The role and activity rate of the low-level party links and the people's control groups and posts in this matter will be increased, and bolder use will be made of the right granted to the party organizations for monitoring the activities of the administrators.

All steps will be taken to support the workers' striving to work with a personal stamp and to grant that right more broadly to brigades which must bear the collective material responsibility for producing inferior output. There will be an increase in the activity rate of the quality groups that have been created in the shops and at the sectors. There will be a development of

the labor rivalry to improve the quality of output and a competition for the title of "Outstanding Worker in Improving Quality" will be organized. More persistence will be demonstrated in resolving social questions and in the creation by the workers of the normal working and everyday living conditions.

5075

CSO: 1800/519

SOCIALIST SYSTEM CONTRADICTIONS, PRODUCTION RELATIONS STUDIED

Moscow FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 9 Dec 86)  
pp 16-22

[Article by A. P. Butenko, professor and doctor of philosophical sciences, and L. Yu. Vodopyanova, docent and candidate of philosophical sciences, Division of Ideological and Political Problems of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, and Department of Philosophy and Scientific Communism of the All-Union Correspondence Institute of Textile and Light Industry: "The Dialectics of Productive Forces and Production Relations in Socialist Society"]

[Text] The new edition of the Party Program adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress states: "Scientific analysis of the objective contradictions of socialist society and development of well-founded recommendations on their resolution and on dependable economic and social forecasts is an unpostponable task of the social sciences in the present stage of development" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 168). It is noted in this case that social scientists should focus their attention on studying and comprehensively analyzing "the dialectics of productive forces and production relations" (Ibid.).

We cited these premises in order to demonstrate the present situation more clearly. The debate on the contradictions of socialism is no longer something that a given journal may open on its own initiative. It is now the CPSU Program that orients Soviet social scientists on this problem. Its discussion is seen as "an unpostponable task of the social sciences in the present stage of development."

It stands to reason that different approaches can be taken to the contradictions of socialist society, including to the dialectics of productive forces and production relations. They may be looked at on the general philosophical level by analyzing the specific action of the laws of materialistic dialectics in the conditions of socialism and in the sphere of its production; these problems may be analyzed from general sociological positions by studying the forms in which the most general laws of social development manifest themselves in socialist society; finally, they can be studied within the framework of the subject of scientific communism. When Karl Marx wrote "Das Kapital" he was hardly concerned as to where, in which

social discipline, any particular thought or conclusion of his would come to rest. It is extremely important to say this because in recent times departmental isolation has cut too many contacts between Marxist social scientists, such that they now show greater concern not for coming nearer to the truth but rather for adapting to the subject of the given scientific discipline, to "fitting" their ideas into it, even if they must sometimes sacrifice the logic of their reasoning. It seems to us that our approach to the topic generally corresponds to the profile of a philosophical journal, but we would not want to cut off our discussion as soon as it goes beyond the customary range of problems of one social discipline and enters into another.

As we know quite well, in recent years our philosophical and sociological literature has devoted significant room to research on the action of the law of unity and to the struggle of opposites in the conditions of socialism. Owing to the work that has been done, no one denies any longer the fact that socialist society is also developing by way of contradictions, that without understanding them and resolving them promptly, we cannot expect further improvement of socialism to be successful. Nor is there any doubt that the presence of contradictions in different spheres and areas of socialist society and differences in their roots, their acuity and their forms of manifestation raise the problem of classifying and systematizing these contradictions.

In the course of the debate on the contradictions of socialism viewed as a social structure, and on its first and foremost contradiction, there was a discussion on the point of view that the contradiction between the growing productive forces and the real system of socialist production relations existing in society is precisely the main contradiction of socialism viewed as a social structure (see Butenko, A. P., "The Contradictions of Socialism Viewed as a Social Structure," VOPR. FILOS., No 10, 1982, p 21. The same or similar position was stated by V. S. Semenov and others. See Semenov, V. S., "The Problem of Contradictions Under the Conditions of Socialism," VOPR. FILOS., No 7 and No 9, 1982).

This position was disputed actively at first. Doubts were stated as to "whether we would move significantly forward" if we interpret the contradiction between productive forces and production relations as the main contradiction of socialism.<sup>(1)</sup> In this case some authors asserted that the main contradiction of socialism generally lies outside the bounds of the dialectics of productive forces and production relations, and that it should be sought in the relations between production and consumption (or even needs); in the opinion of others the contradiction should be sought in the system of production relations themselves; a third group of authors have the opinion that it should be sought in the contradictory relations of spontaneity and consciousness under socialism.

We do not feel that we can agree with an approach where an attempt is made to seek the main contradiction of socialism either beyond the bounds of the socialist means of production in general or beyond the bounds of the dialectics of productive forces and production relations.

From the standpoint of both theory and practice, the dialectics of productive forces and production relations under socialism are the key problem of

improving socialism; they have a most direct relationship to the conception of accelerating socioeconomic development. After all, this conception was itself formed as a conscious reaction to the real contradiction that arose, and is growing increasingly more acute, between the objective needs (and possibilities) of Soviet society's dynamic development and the gradually decreasing growth rate of the Soviet economy. This contradiction grew more serious in the 1970s and in the early 1980s, having an increasingly more negative effect on solving both the domestic and international problems of Soviet society, and forcing us to seek a solution.

"Interaction between modern productive forces and socialist production relations" was exactly what was referred to as the "fundamental and important problem" in M. S. Gorbachev's report given in December 1984 at an all-union scientific-practical conference. He noted that "dogmatic ideas, which do a disservice to our theory and practice, have hardly been surmounted in its interpretation" (Gorbachev, M. S., "Zhivoye tvorchestvo naroda" [The Living Creativity of the People], Moscow, 1984, p 12). What is the essence of these dogmatic ideas? It is that production relations are divorcing themselves from "the real state of productive forces, the practical activities of people," as a result of which "a certain speculative, stagnant image of production relations arises as an unchanging essence that is far from reality" (Ibid.).

The essence of this approach boils down to the idea that production relations undergo change three times in the transition from capitalism to communism: the first time when the means of production in private capitalist hands are nationalized and transformed into state property; the second time when petty private property of peasants and small farms is collectivized and transformed into collective property; the third time after the victory of socialism, when productive forces develop to a sufficiently high level and cause the two forms of socialist property to converge and merge into a single communist form. As we know, this simplistic concept has been widespread among social scientists. But in this approach production relations are interpreted as being some kind of "unchanging essence"--something that remains the same until a certain time, and which undergoes qualitative reconstruction only in a certain stage.

It is precisely with such an interpretation that production relations become divorced from "the real state of productive forces, the practical activities of people," that they transform into a speculative structure that remains "an unchanging essence" until a certain time--that is, as a "stagnant image" that is quite far from reality. Because the error of this approach, which was pointed out at the 1984 scientific-practical conference, was not explained in the sociopolitical and scientific journals, this approach has continued to appear in the periodical press.

In what way was this manifested? Instead of revealing the fundamental erroneousness of interpreting socialist production relations as some structure that is divorced from the day-to-day practical activities of people, and therefore as something that does not require continual improvement (it is precisely because of such an approach that production relations were not subjected to timely improvement in the 1970s), the proponents of this position

argued on behalf of improvement of socialist production relations, having in mind the "third" leap in the sphere of ownership--that is, merger of kolkhoz-cooperative property with national property--its nationalization.

Thus one periodical publication stated that in today's situation the accent should be made on something other than all-out utilization of the potentials of socialism and of the entire set of productive forms inherent to it--on both forms of socialist property, on private plots, on individual forms of labor, on consistent development of the principle of cost accounting and on the associated mechanism of commodity and monetary relations and cost indicators. Instead, this publication laid emphasis on further "progressive collectivization." "Progressive collectivization is in fact our guarantee against restoration of the principles of private ownership and, at the same time, a fundamental prerequisite of universal, deep introduction of collectivistic, general communist tenets. Any other view on material things, no matter how it is cloaked stylistically, does not correspond to the Marxist conception of social progress under socialism, or to the data of modern science" (SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1985, p 15).

As we know, such viewpoints were not supported at the congress. In particular it was emphasized at the congress that cooperative ownership "has far from exhausted its potentials in socialist production, in satisfying the people's needs better" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS," p 40). It was also discussed that it is also time "to surmount the prejudice against commodity and monetary relations, their understatement in the practice of the planned management of the economy" (Ibid.).

Very definite things were also said at the congress about the dialectics of productive forces and production relations under socialism: "Experience has demonstrated the groundlessness of notions according to which a correspondence between production relations and the nature of productive forces is automatically ensured under socialist conditions" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS," p 38).

The groundlessness of what notions? A number of Soviet and foreign Marxist economists have based their ideas on the notion that following nationalization of private capitalist property and collectivization of the private property of the peasants, correspondence between production relations and the nature of productive forces would be ensured for a long period, such that they would not require any special concern from the society until such time that the question of converging and merging the two forms of socialist property into one--national, communist property--arises. What was this thesis based on? On the notion that socialist relations supposedly "anticipate" the development of productive forces. According to this opinion nationalization and collectivization of the resources of production in countries with a relatively underdeveloped material-technical base (that is, the technical production machinery and the aggregate of the implements of labor and all material elements of the productive forces) would itself mark the creation of socialist production relations which immediately go far beyond the level of productive forces attained there previously.

In this approach, the socialist production relations that establish themselves after a period of transition are interpreted as a unique social "shell" within which both socialist productive forces and culture must be "installed." It stands to reason that throughout the entire phase of socialism, social development will proceed predominantly due to multiplication of socialist property, its growth and improvement of the material-technical base. But in such a case is there really any need to reorganize production relations, to improve them in some way, if the gap or distance between them and lagging productive forces is rather large anyway? It would be better to wait a while until productive forces grow so much that the "shell" would no longer accommodate them, and require convergence and merger of the two socialist forms of ownership into the single communist form.

We believe that this point of view is mistaken. Formal legal collectivization is confused here with actual collectivization; development and multiplication of the object of socialist ownership is confused here with development of socialist ownership itself as an aggregate of production relations.

Nationalization--transformation of the means of production into the property of the socialist state--is in fact the most important starting point of creating a socialist economy. First of all, this revolutionary act does in fact deprive exploiters of the means of production, it deprives them of that private ownership of these means of production which had been the basis of exploitation of one man by another; second, it creates social property as the means of production. But nationalization as a legal act does no more than define collectivization in formal legal terms: It does not effect real socialist collectivization of the means of production. Distinguishing these processes strictly from each other, V. I. Lenin wrote: "But the problem is that even the greatest 'decisiveness' in the world is not enough for a transition from nationalization and confiscation to collectivization" (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 293). The reason for this is that real collectivization presupposes not formal legal but practical appropriation, by the laborers, of the resources of production and the public wealth that legally belongs to them. And this is not the result of a one-time, volitional, legal state act, but rather the product of a long period of contradictory socioeconomic development.

In light of this, all notions of the inadequacy of the material-technical base of a given socialist country to its production relations are deprived of both their scientific and practical meaning. They are meaningless chiefly because productive forces and not production relations are the primary component in the interaction. Being a form of development of productive forces, production relations develop in connection with productive forces, on the basis of changes in them and in correspondence with them, and therefore such an inadequacy ("anticipation" of production relations) does not appear in the course of development of specific societies.

But that is not where the problem lies. The point of view under criticism here is wrong because it has confused wishful thinking with reality--it has confused unfinished real collectivization with finished collectivization, and in this connection it has generated indifference toward improving production relations.

In fact, if socialist production relations that "anticipate" development of productive forces were created at the time of nationalization and collectivization of the resources of production, at least two conclusions could have been made from this.

First, in this case the dialectics of interaction between productive forces and production relations would have been interpreted in such a way that development or multiplication of productive forces would permit the society to develop "unconcernedly," within the framework of the already existing system of production relations, until such time that the growing productive forces exhaust the available "room"--that is, until such time that they begin to "rest" against the boundaries of the two separated forms of socialist ownership--state and collective, requiring their convergence and, in the final analysis, merger into the single communist ownership.

Second, it was asserted in this approach that development of the main productive force--man--is accounted for by improvement of economic relations in the sense that it proceeds in parallel with growth and multiplication of socialist property.

Both assertions have turned out to be incorrect. "Upside-down" dialectics of productive forces and production relations do not and cannot exist in life, since development of productive forces predetermines development of production relations, while on the other hand growth or multiplication of the object of socialist ownership does not yet signify development of economic production relations in this case--it only represents development of productive forces. These assertions distract us from what is most important--from the need for consciously and promptly improving production relations--something that does not occur automatically.

In fact, the actual situation seen in the interaction between productive forces and production relations has been such that there are absolutely no grounds for saying that production relations have predetermined development of productive forces, such that the society need not trouble itself with improving and developing production relations.

Formal legal collectivization of the resources of production--their nationalization and collectivization--eliminated private capitalistic and petty peasant private ownership, and it did in fact create the conditions for forming new production relations; however, these new relations could have evolved only in the way that the real nature and level of development of productive forces inherent to the given stage of the means of labor would have allowed them to. They were affirmed in the only form which they could have taken on the foundation of the existing production conditions and labor resources. For the Soviet Union, and later on for most other socialist countries (ones with a relatively low level of development of productive forces, with significant domination of manual labor and a peasant population), which were prodded into accelerated growth of material production by capitalism--first by the capitalist environment and by the danger of interference in the USSR, and later on by constant pressure from imperialism and by the threat of its aggression against the entire world socialist

system--there was only one possibility: taking the road of rapid progress due to extensive growth factors. And this means forming an entire system of real production relations, the economic mechanism and the principles of economic planning and control corresponding to this possibility. Inasmuch as the level of development of productive forces (of the material and personal factors of production) was low, and inasmuch as manual labor was widespread in the society (labor in indirect form--expenditure of chiefly muscle energy by the worker, the principal agent of production--was the main creator of social wealth), an economic mechanism oriented chiefly on quantitative, gross indicators corresponded to this stage. Under these conditions live labor was -till subordinated to dead, materialized labor, since the latter dictated the forms of social division of labor, and consequently prevented the society from making a major step forward in gradually surmounting the contradictions between mental and physical labor.

It was precisely within the framework of this real system of production relations, adapted to the level of development of productive forces, that rapid growth of production was improved, that the material-technical base of society was created and developed, and that the citizen of socialist society took form. With time, these real forms of production relations began to exhaust their possibilities; their improvement and development was required.

Considering the above discussion, what should improving productive relations in coordination with growth of productive forces mean?

To answer this question correctly it is important to keep in mind that the production and economic relations in society represent a whole system of the relations of production, distribution, exchange and consumption, with different units of this system being tied together in different ways and interacting both with productive forces and with other aspects of the social organism. For example as a rule distribution relations (the wage system, the bonus payment system and so on) have a quicker and more effective influence upon the function of productive forces than do direct production relations, even though the latter, which clearly express property relations, have a stabler and longer-term influence. It is also important to understand the nonuniformity of the changes experienced by individual units of the whole system of production relations. When economic reforms are carried out in socialist society, or even when certain state acts or decrees are simply adopted (pertaining for example to price changes, to better stimulation, to change in planning methods, and so on and so forth), some elements of the production relations undergo change while others do not, retaining their previous form for a long period of time.

As a result of such nonuniform change in different elements of the whole system of production relations, the situation that actually evolves is one in which some aspects of production relations stimulate development of productive forces and create possibilities for their rapid growth in their existing form, while other aspects of production relations have already lost or are losing their stimulatory role (for example those aspects which are associated with formal legal collectivization of the resources of production that generates enthusiasm in the masses, inasmuch as such acts do in fact eliminate private ownership and the forms of exploitation of laborers associated with it).

But if the society, as represented by its state administrative organs, fails to study the status of the real system of new production relations, if it is unable to see that the stimulatory effects of certain elements of production relations have been exhausted, or if by failing to provide adequate attention to these problems it does not notice that many elements of the system of production relations are hindering development of productive forces rather than stimulating it, and if they fail to take the necessary measures (this is precisely the way the situation evolved in the Soviet Union in the 1970s-1980s), then development of production forces slows down, the rate of economic growth decreases, and difficulties and stresses arise in the society.

Here are some examples to make this general discussion more comprehensible. In the 1930s the SNK [Council of Peoples Commissars] adopted decrees placing the SNK Gosplan in charge of the distribution of steel and cast iron among enterprises. Decrees excluding a direct relationship between the producers of consumer goods and trade enterprises were adopted at that time as well. On one hand these and similar decrees accounted for the level of productive forces that existed at that time in the country and for the country's possibilities for producing the corresponding products, while on the other hand a certain system of economic ties and production relations that stimulated rapid extensive growth of production at that time was predetermined. Half a century has passed since then. The country's productive forces grew to colossal proportions in this period, and the proportions of the national economy and the metal and consumer goods situations changed. But the tens and thousands of decrees and orders of that time that perpetuated the present forms of relations have not been repealed. They are still functioning, supporting the inhibitory action of obsolete elements of production relations.

Under today's conditions, a metaphysical understanding of the dialectics of productive forces and production relations prevent a correct understanding of the essence of what is happening. After all, in the first place all elements of social relations associated with organization and management of production were declared to be irrelevant to production relations and therefore undeserving of the attention of political economics at a certain stage. In the second place it was assumed that "real" production relations (the relations of formal legal collectivization having to do with the problems of socialist ownership were actually implied) do not hinder development of productive forces, that they correspond to their level of development. But in reality the situation was different. "Everything is more complex in life," it was said at the 27th CPSU Congress. "Yes, socialist production relations open up a wide avenue for development of productive forces. But to do this, they must be improved constantly. And this means that we need to take notice of obsolete management methods in time, and replace them by new ones" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS," p 38).

We think that everything we have said is supported rather well by the thesis of the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress: "Scholasticism and dogmatism have always been obstacles to real growth of knowledge. They lead to stagnation of ideas, they isolate science

from life by an impenetrable wall, and they hinder scientific development" (Ibid., p 85). Surmounting this hindrance is the task of all social scientists.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. From the journal's editorial board: In our opinion the authors state conclusions on this issue that are too categorical. The problem requires further discussion, and there is an obvious need for adequately presenting the positions of opponents and the basic premises of the theory. In any case we should not forget Marx's statement that primary (material) needs arise out of production or out of circumstances based on production--that is, they are inherent to the method itself of production, and they are inseparable from it (see Marks, K. and Engels, F., "Soch." [Works], 2d edition, Vol 4, p 80). It would hardly be possible to achieve a correspondence between production relations and productive forces today without limited subordination of production to the satisfaction of social needs.

The time has come for a deeper, more substantial and calmer comparison of the existing positions of science on the unsolved and little-studied problems of theory, to debate them in such a way that truth would be revealed. This is implied directly by the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress.

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11004

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ROLE OF MANAGERS UNDER GLASNOST DISCUSSED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. Valko, professor: "The Leader: The Authority of Knowledge"]

[Text] "The path we are following is one of continual development of the people's socialist self-management. In our country, management should not be the privilege of a small circle of professionals."

"Does that mean that everyone would be a manager, and that there would be no chiefs?"

"No, there will be leaders. The only thing is that the right of their leadership would be based to an increasingly greater degree on their authority."

"But where would this authority come from? From power?"

"Among other things. But the authority of knowledge would be the most important. It will make it possible for its possessor to manage and lead until such time that another authority rises above him, and the people turn their gazes toward the latter and express their agreement with him."

"Is this not the essence of reconstruction?"

"It lies in this as well--because the wisest policy cannot produce the needed results if it does not rely on authoritative personnel, on the human factor."

The dialogue went something like this at a certain seminar held at Kiev State University. But of course, questions of authority trouble not only the future specialists. How and from what it arises, what maintains it, and why it sometimes suffers failure are all questions of vital importance.

Translated from Latin, the word authority means "power" or "influence." In its wider meaning it is the commonly recognized informal influence of some person or organization. In its narrower meaning it is one of the forms of the exercise of power.

Marx, Engels and Lenin, who devoted considerable attention to the question of persons of authority, decisively argued against "excessive faith" in persons of authority and "superstitious subservience" to them, and against the cult of personality. Concurrently our doctrine also rejects petty bourgeois, anarchical demands for "the overthrow of all persons of authority."

V. I. Lenin felt that the working class needs authoritative leaders, the authority of whom must be based on considerable knowledge and experience, on a broad political and scientific outlook.

Fulfilling its historical mission of full development of the personality, socialism revealed new facets in the role of authority. And today, whenever we discuss the human factor as the most important motive force and reserve of acceleration, we necessarily consider the authority of the leader.

The chief criterion by which we assess the leader today is his attitude toward reconstruction and his actions to achieve it. The most important qualities out of which authority grows are intolerance of shortcomings, routine and passiveness, competency and high professionalism, responsibility for assigned work, a broad ideological and theoretical outlook, political maturity, firm moral principles, sensitivity toward people and the ability to persuade them and lead them. So it was said quite emphatically at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Nonetheless, we still have a long way to go before we fully eradicate the deeply rooted opinion that "the firmer the hand," the higher the authority--and that nothing else counts. That is, the opinion that all authority of a leader boils down to the authority of power.

Firmness is of course something necessary in leadership. It is also natural for a leader who has been empowered by the government or by the collective to rely on the authority of the latter. But this is a relationship of trust which the leader has yet to justify through his own efforts. Otherwise not only will the people turn away from him, but also damage will be done to the authority of the organ which endowed him with the right and the power to lead.

"Reconstruction is...rejection of the exercise of power through edict"--so it was directly stated at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Hence it is clear that the authority of knowledge is the decisive factor. It is superior to all power, to all circulars and commands. Any leader who fails to understand this will invariably be overthrown. We will never return to the situation (this was emphasized at the plenum as well) where leaders unable to fulfill their responsibilities linger for decades in many leadership positions--at the rayon, city, oblast, republic and even the union scale.

In these times of development of democratic principles and expansion of glasnost, in a time when people are receiving the possibility for learning more about the capabilities and knowledge of a given leader, the leader achieves firm recognition not through the power of his position but rather primarily through his competency, his knowledge and his ability to utilize it in his work.

Formal qualifications--the number of diplomas, ranks, positions held previously--and the endorsement of influential persons have faded into the background wherever the practice of electing leaders or selecting them on a competitive basis has been initiated. In such places, preference is shown toward the worker himself. And as was emphasized in a decree of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "election of executives in labor collectives does not undermine one-man command; on the contrary it strengthens it, and raises the authority of the leaders...."

The leader has a difficult task: He must work within the collective, rather than towering above it, he must share its needs and interests, he must serve it, and consequently he must influence its activities through persuasion, competency and knowledge.

As we know, major steps are already being taken to train and retrain executive personnel in compliance with the task, posed by the 27th CPSU Congress, of creating a state system of continuing education. Large amounts of money are being spent on this. However, certain workers have not yet come to understand that reconstruction requires them to enhance their personal receptiveness to knowledge. One person I spoke with said this: "I've already been through advanced training, and not everything I learned was relevant to my job. Moreover, we can't all be scholars." Of course we can't! But we should not be too lazy to learn. What Lenin said in his Political Report to the 11th Party Congress is still pertinent today: "...people can learn things, but to do so, they must study, which is something they do not do. We are inundated from all sides by orders and decrees, but the results are far from what their drafters want."

What is it that today's leader of any rank must know? He needs an entire complex of knowledge ranging from the simplest to the most complex. The core and the foundation of this complex is knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and a deep understanding of party policy in general and its present course toward acceleration in particular. Today's leader must master the skill of dialectical thinking more deeply. This will help him in particular to avoid the danger of the spread of technocratic thinking. He must delve more deeply into the extremely rich historical experience of socialist construction and the experience of the Communist Party. A knowledge of this experience is an invaluable starting point from which to seek new solutions and from which to fight against manifestations of sluggishness and stagnation.

The leader must know his business: not at the rudimentary level but at the level required by modern science. Only the latter provides a possibility for envisioning the future, and for directing the work and creatively leading it with the least probability of erring.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin demanded that we learn to value science, that we reject "the 'communist' self-conceit of dilettantes and bureaucrats," that we "beware of becoming carried away with leadership by edict, that we learn to reckon with that which science has already developed for us."

What is it that keeps some workers from regularly communing with science today? Obviously the same self-conceit to which the founder of our state

objected. A conceited worker is a backward person even if he possesses three higher diplomas, since he does nothing to update knowledge acquired previously.

Such a position is especially intolerable in this stage of acceleration, of revolutionary reconstruction of all spheres of the society's life. "Reconstruction," it was pointed out at the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "is a decisive turn toward science, a business-like partnership between it and practice with the purpose of attaining the highest possible end results, the ability to place any business on a solid scientific foundation."

Only by relying on scientific knowledge can a leader make objectively grounded, optimum decisions rather than arbitrary ones; rather than waiting for instructions from above, he must act independently and resourcefully, making full use of the rights granted to him and strictly observing the law. This is precisely what will help him to be principled when examining any issue, to defend his point of view and the interests of the work both in the collective and before higher organizations.

An authoritative leader also needs a knowledge of life in all of its manifestations, a knowledge of things as they currently are--not as reflected in paperwork, but as determined from personal communication with people. He needs an abundance of dependable information--not secondary but primary and timely information. He needs a knowledge of the true state of affairs. Without such knowledge he would be a tree with withered branches.

Everything here is important and necessary; otherwise flaws in the work would be unavoidable. Replying to my question, V. M. Khizhnyak, secretary of the Nemirovskiy Rayon Party Committee in Vinnitsa Oblast, said that he needs an intelligent and exact knowledge of people, of their moods, a knowledge of the farm fields, a knowledge of the machinery and a knowledge of the situation every morning and at day's end.

The leader also naturally accumulates knowledge possessed and acquired by his closest assistants in their communication with laborers. But this does not release him from the obligation to study a given issue personally, from always maintaining the level of knowledge required of a leader. He is a leader because he is able to see farther ahead, understand more deeply, think faster and more cleverly, produce ideas and, when making decisions, take responsibility for his actions.

V. I. Lenin said: "...in the same way that collectivism is necessary in the discussion of the principal issues, individual responsibility and individual direction are necessary as well, so as to avoid red tape and so as to prevent evasion of responsibility." But unfortunately, things are far from always so. Some readers have had the occasion, I am sure, to sit at meetings in which everyone speaks while the leader maintains a profound silence, doing nothing more than nodding his head importantly from time to time. Could it be that he simply wants everyone to have their say? No, he is actually concealing his own ignorance, dropping the entire burden upon his staff. Frequently such a leader also covers up his own bankruptcy by loudly demanding resourcefulness

of others. Of course, the insolvency of such a leader will reveal itself sooner or later. But it would be better for this to happen sooner.

It can also be the other way around: The leader does most of the talking while the others listen quietly. This happens when chiefs intimidated by talent surround themselves with mediocre individuals just to make themselves look better. They do not even have the slightest idea of how much of their own authority they lose by pursuing such a flawed policy. In such situations the collective or the rayon begins to wonder how he can tolerate such untalented people. And in the meantime he imitates and fosters them. If he could only recall the sort of people with whom Lenin surrounded himself-- Lenin, who created what was recognized by even our enemies as the best-educated government in the world.

Knowledge must always be combined with morality. Otherwise it may be used to the detriment of common interests. For example a number of former leaders capitalized on their knowledge in immoral acts such as falsification of records, deception of the state and the collective, demagoguery and unrestrained self-glorification. Unfortunately there was a certain time in which little attention was devoted to the moral characteristics of workers, while certain traits of theirs such as the tendency to command arbitrarily, to suppress the will and opinions of others and to wield a rough hand were treated as business-like qualities, as components of authority. Of course, such authority was hollow and false.

Knowledge in interaction with a highly moral value orientation of the personality: Such is the most important characteristic of the authoritative worker. Socialist efficiency and resourcefulness--something which is so needed today in our executive personnel--is an alloy of high morality, activity and knowledge.

The issue of the moral authority of knowledge is directly associated with the demand of the 27th CPSU Congress that our society extract a lesson in truth. Recalling during the June (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum Lenin's warning that illusions and self-deceit are terrifying and that the fear of truth is pernicious, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev emphasized that the party and the people need truth in everything large and small. We can say in application to the authority of the leader that the more purely he serves the truth, the greater his authority will be. Knowledge of the truth is the most powerful knowledge to be had, because by its very nature, truth is moral, and it demands resolute struggle against everything old and obsolete, everything that hinders forward progress and, all the more so, its acceleration. A knowledge of truth and service to it is a guarantee of the authority of every worker.

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TASKS, CHANGED STATUS OF MINVUZ PHILOSOPHY JOURNAL EXAMINED

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pp 8-15

[Article by doctor of philosophical sciences, Professor V. S. Gott and doctor of philosophical sciences, Docent V. N. Shevchenko: "The Journal, the Authors, and Philosophical Research"]

[Text] This issue is the beginning of a new stage in the life of this VUZ philosophical journal. FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI will be published monthly as of January 1987. Its official status is changed as well. For 29 years since 1958 it has been published in the series "Scientific Reports of the Higher School." Now FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI is a scientific-theoretical journal of the USSR Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education]. But the main thing with which we associate the new stage in the journal's life is the abrupt turning point which our country is experiencing.

Deep and irreversible changes are occurring in it today. Reconstruction of all aspects of social life is proceeding at an increasing pace. The new edition of the CPSU Program, proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress and other recent party and state documents contain theoretical generalizations and conclusions of fundamental importance. They explain the causes of the difficulties of the 1970s and early 1980s, and they explain the prospects for comprehensive and consistent improvement of socialism as it has been constructed in our country--prospects which will come to fruition in a time beyond the 20th century. Basing itself on a deep theoretical analysis, the congress proposed a policy which the Soviet people could not but approve and accept, since it was able to capture and express the moods and feelings of the broad laboring masses, and the urgent need for fundamental changes in all spheres of the people's life.

Approved by the 27th CPSU Congress, the conception of accelerating socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific-technical progress predetermines the party's long-term strategy, since today as never before the fate of peace and socialism on earth depends on dynamic economic, sociopolitical and cultural progress of our country and other socialist countries, and on the rate of this progress. The scale and grandeur of the tasks presently facing the Soviet people have no precedence in our history.

Therefore it is entirely natural that side by side with proclamation of the conception of acceleration, the demands on social scientists and on the results of their scientific activities have risen abruptly.

Opening the All-Union Conference of Social Science Department Directors, M. S. Gorbachev pointed out the most important task facing the social sciences today: "The first thing theoretical thought must do is more fully and deeply reveal all of the features of the present stage of socialism, and the individual stages of its attainment of a qualitatively new state in the period to the year 2000 and beyond. It is called upon to paint an objective scientific picture of the modern world as a whole" (KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1986, p 3). Today theoretical activities are becoming the most important tool of reconstruction.

The certain remoteness of philosophy, economic science and the social sciences in general from the needs of life was discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress. "Today social scientists face the task of surmounting the remoteness they have achieved from the needs of life," emphasized M. S. Gorbachev. "We urgently need a decisive turn of the entire front of the social sciences toward practical needs" (Ibid., p 5).

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" and the All-Union Conference of Social Science Department Directors held in Moscow on 1-3 October 1986 were important landmarks in the effort to lend substance to the tasks to be carried out by the country's philosophers and all social scientists.

Having thoroughly analyzed the work of the journal, the editorial board finds that it also is a target of the critical remarks addressed toward philosophers by the latest party documents. Philosophers are partly to blame for the fact that today's practice has made many theoretical ideas obsolete, that it has overtaken theory, and that now we must seek answers to complex and urgent problems on the move, as they say, solution of which is a prerequisite of implementing the program to accelerate socioeconomic development.

The work of the journal must be analyzed without prejudice, omissions and weak points must be revealed, everything that hinders our forward progress must be rejected, and a persistent effort must be made to improve constantly the activities of all structural units of the journal's editorial board and the editor's office.

The purpose of the journal is to publish the results of scientific research carried out chiefly by the country's VUZ instructors. And of course, it is its purpose to render concrete, diverse assistance to instructors as they prepare for lectures and seminars on philosophy and for measures of communist indoctrination of young students.

The journal's editorial board could successfully complete these tasks only with the direct participation of the author collective. It stands to reason that the journal's role cannot be reduced to simply reflecting the existing status of VUZ philosophical science. Working in close cooperation with the

Main Administration of Instruction in the Social Sciences of the USSR Minvuz, the journal has regularly initiated scientific research that was subsequently published in the journal.

The editorial board and the editor's office are pursuing a purposeful and consistent policy in this respect, having in mind the need for developing both the entire group of philosophical disciplines and revealing the especially important directions in full correspondence with the party's requirements.

There are still many things today that do not satisfy us, and chiefly the degree to which we have solved the social and philosophical problems of modern social development, the methodological aspects of scientific-technical progress in the conditions of socialism, and the role of the human factor in the society's progressive development. The principal task of all social sciences is to conceptualize the importance of the present era as a turning point, and the meaning and content of the present stage of historical progress. They are called upon to illuminate theoretically the paths of revolutionary reconstruction of all spheres of social life.

Development of the dialectical method of thinking, and of the theory of dialectics as the universal method of learning about and transforming reality, is now acquiring exceptional significance. "The new way of thinking that we must all master," said M. S. Gorbachev at the All-Union Conference of Social Science Department Directors, "is dialectical thinking" (Ibid.). Research on the theory of dialectics is being conducted in our country on a wide front. But at the same time there are some rather deep differences in the way a number of its aspects are interpreted. Of course, these differences cannot be surmounted by purely administrative decisions. They need to be discussed, debated, and the journal will eagerly offer its pages for this discussion. The time has apparently come to seek, through joint and energetic efforts, ways of bringing the existing points of view closer together, of developing a common conceptual approach, which would doubtlessly promote more effective use of the dialectical method by scientists in particular sciences and in the practical activities of the Soviet people. We need to devote much more attention to dialectics as a method of revolutionary transformation of social life. The special urgency of this problem is obvious.

The reconstruction that is occurring before our eyes and with our participation is of a fundamental nature. As M. S. Gorbachev emphasized, we need to place "an equal sign between the words reconstruction and revolution. Our transformation and reforms called for in decisions of the April Plenum of the party central committee and the 27th CPSU Congress represent a real revolution in the entire system of relations in the society, in the minds and hearts of the people, in the psychology and understanding of the modern period, and chiefly in the tasks generated by swift scientific-technical progress" (Gorbachev, M. S., "Perestroyka neotlozhna, ona kasayetsya vseh i vo vsem" [Reconstruction Is Unpostponeable, It Affects Everyone in All Things], Moscow, 1986, pp 36-37). Let us ponder these words: Reconstruction is revolution.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the social sciences are not yet ready to respond to these words of such profound meaning. The philosophical level of analysis of this phenomenon is to play the decisive role here. Discussion of the methodological problems of revolutionary reconstruction of Soviet society must become the priority task of philosophers specializing in the social sciences.

Our society's revolutionary reconstruction will promote revelation (to an immeasurably greater degree than we see today) of all of the advantages embodied in the nature of the new social structure; this will inevitably have an effect on the scale and dynamics of progressive transformations on the planet. But today, in the nuclear era, no simplistic ideas of any kind should be allowed to exist.

Philosophy must study life in all of the wealth of its manifestations. There are no topics forbidden to philosophical thinking and generalization, and there can be none. Today the essence of the matter lies in something else. It lies, as Ye. K. Ligachev emphasized in his speech to the All-Union Conference of Social Science Department Directors, "in a lack of total truthfulness." "Every phenomenon, dialectics teach us, must be grasped in all of its diversity, both its positive and negative sides must be seen. And most importantly, Leninist truth is creative, constructive truth. It presupposes not discussions of shortcomings but an act of struggle against them" (KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1986, p 19). As a universal method of cognition and revolutionary transformation of reality, dialectics are opposed to one-sided and, all the more so, scientifically unsubstantiated conclusions--of course on the condition that a dialectical attitude is maintained toward dialectics themselves.

When the discussion turns to the philosophical approach to studying the phenomena of life in all of their diversity, it becomes necessary to emphasize specially that philosophy must rely in this case completely on the accomplishments of particular sciences, including in different divisions of applied sociology, and on the scientific literature pertaining to world history and the history of the USSR, political economics, the theory of state and law, demography and international relations.

The editor's office of the journal often receives articles in which the authors try to arrive at their conclusions on the basis of incidental and clearly secondary sources, without considering the real status of a given particular science, without considering everything in it which is undebatable and everything which is debatable.

But there is one other aspect of the mutual relations between the social sciences, philosophy and practice. In recent times philosophical scientists, political economists, historians and specialists in scientific communism and applied sociology have written many substantial, major works on the urgent problems of socialist and communist construction. Philosophers have enjoyed significant advances in solving the methodological problems of many natural and technical sciences that are at the forward edge of scientific-technical progress; they have also enjoyed success in systems analysis and in dialectical theory. However, for a number of reasons that are beyond the

control of science itself, practical application of that which is doubtlessly the latest word in the unending process of man's understanding of the world around him leaves much to be desired.

One of these reasons is simplistic interpretations of all of the intricate relationships between philosophy and social practice. These interpretations attempt to reduce the role of philosophy and social theory in general either to simple recording of facts or to "theoretical" justification of various concepts of immediate, transitory nature.

Special emphasis should be put on the fact that philosophy cannot respond to society's needs other than by using the resources specific to it for explaining natural and social activity. This is why excessive flirtation with semantics, with ultrageneral abstractions, which are still encountered unfortunately in certain philosophical works and which are elicited to a considerable degree by a fear of the new, by a reluctance to enter into difficult scientific debate, into a struggle of opinions, must not be the cause of understating the significance of studying philosophical principles and categories. After all it is only through them, as Academician L. F. Illichev validly asserted, "that the path to scientific discovery of the concrete specifics of phenomena under investigation lies" (Illichev, L. F., "Materialistic Dialectics and Socialist Practice," VOPR. FILOS., No 8, 1986, p 15). It is important to continue to study all of the relationships between and the transitions from practical experience and life to the maximally general concepts with which philosophical knowledge deals specifically. Both extremes can only be harmful in this area.

Soviet society is posing tasks of a predominantly integrated nature in its present stage of development. Their completion requires the coordinated and harmonious work of scientists in the most diverse specialties. We need to do everything we can to widen and reinforce the union of social, natural and technical sciences bequeathed by V. I. Lenin.

At the same time the scope of integrated studies being carried on in the country still falls noticeably below the requirements of life; this pertains to philosophy itself as well. The process of differentiation of philosophical knowledge, and the doubtless domination of this process over integrative trends, manifested as perpetual appeals in the literature to create more and more new philosophical disciplines, is evoking growing concern. Unfortunately almost no large monographs have been published that attempt to trace the main lines in the interaction between philosophical disciplines and the nature of their influence upon one another in application to the present level of development of Marxist philosophy as a whole, or to synthesize the content of philosophical knowledge as an organic unity of its diverse sides. Incidentally there is not a single organization in the structure of the higher school, or even beyond its bounds, that might deal exclusively with the general problems of philosophical theory. Might this not be one of the reasons for those lengthy debates that are being waged around the structure of theory and, correspondingly, the structure of the training course in Marxist-Leninist philosophy? There are many urgent philosophical problems today which are in fact interdisciplinary problems. Take for example the problem of interaction between material and moral stimuli for labor under socialist conditions.

Historical materialism and ethics have isolated themselves rather considerably, and this could hardly promote deep solution of this problem. We need to do everything we can to support integrative trends in philosophical research and in science in general, including in the organizational aspect.

In March 1986, soon after the 27th CPSU Congress adjourned, the journal's editorial board examined and approved a plan of measures to implement the congress's decisions. Immediately after the All-Union Conference of Social Science Department Directors the editorial board discussed its results. M. S. Gorbachev's speech at the conference, reports given by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Ye. K. Ligachev and USSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education G. A. Yagodin, and materials from the work of section meetings contain an elaborate program of activity by VUZ social scientists for the immediate and the more remote future. There are many things to think about here. The editor's office and the editorial board see their responsibility chiefly as qualitatively improving all work associated with selecting and publishing scientific articles on timely topics. It should be noted however, that no list of topics can ever replace the curiosity of a scientist's mind, his passionate wish to say something new in science, to make the contribution within his capabilities to solving the problems facing the Soviet people in regard to accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

The problem of discussions remains acute. We need finally to learn how to conduct scientific debates and creative discussions. They are an inseparable aspect of the development of knowledge in any science, including in philosophy. "The high culture of discussion," Ye. K. Ligachev stressed at the conference, "is incompatible with attaching labels to and reproaching supposed deviations from socialism. All of these tactics have nothing to do with either true science, or true creativity, or true Marxism-Leninism" (KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1986, p 15).

Philosophy is also to play a major role in the Soviet society's attainment of a qualitatively new state. Responding with concrete deeds to this party appeal means writing profound, truly creative works containing ideas and generalizations which would carry theoretical thought far beyond the bounds of the commonplace in science, and which would open up wide horizons for the future.

The journal's editorial board and the editor's office clearly understand the enormous responsibility they bear for implementing the party's policy line and for seeking specific resources and forms which would promote unconditional fulfillment of this policy to the greatest degree.

The materials published in the journal consist mainly of the scientific products of the country's VUZ instructors. It is precisely here that the roots of the serious difficulties and problems existing in the work of the editor's office of the journal lie. Speaking frankly, sometimes the VUZ departments still recommend for publication articles and reviews written at a low theoretical level and containing deficiencies that could be quite easily uncovered at department meetings during discussions of such materials. Some departments avoid objective assessment of the materials, passing on them

formally and superficially. Of course in a number of cases the departments are in fact unable to provide a qualified assessment because they lack personnel specializing narrowly enough on a given problem. But it seems that the exceptions threaten to become the rule.

One of the ingredients of success today is raising the general and philosophical culture of articles and reviews submitted to the journal. A thorough knowledge of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and of contemporary literature on the selected topic, a knowledge of real life and of the unique features of scientific activity, and constructive criticism of existing points of view. These make up far from a complete list of the requirements anyone who embarks upon the difficult path of scientific research must satisfy.

Each year the journal's editorial board and editor's office complete a large and continually growing volume of work associated with reviewing materials submitted to the journal and preparing them for publication. They are all discussed at meetings held periodically by the journal's divisions.

A significant quantity of the materials discussed (around two-thirds) remains unpublished despite the fact that they are discussed on several occasions and their authors are provided with extensive and constructive suggestions as a rule. Nonetheless the editor's office does not feel that work with such materials is wasted, even though the bulk of it is unaccounted for and invisible to the lay observer of the journal's activities.

The fact is that many VUZ scientists complain, particularly at reader's conferences, of an acute lack of systematic contacts with associates working on similar problems, and all the more so of qualified scientific assistance in selecting research topics that are truly important, and in acquiring a correct orientation relative to the essence of real and little-studied problems of science.

To the extent that its powers and possibilities allow, the editor's office does provide such assistance, but in order to solve the problem better, the main thing we would have to do is increase the activities of problem councils and coordinating centers, and make conferences and symposia more purposeful. In this connection the editor's office suggests one idea for discussion: In our opinion it would be suitable to organize a large number of summer (winter) permanent 5-7 day seminars under the sponsorship of the philosophy faculties and philosophy departments of the country's major VUZ centers. By publishing the specific subjects to be discussed, the form of their discussion at the seminar and the names of the principal speakers ahead of time, we would provide a possibility for practically every instructor to select beforehand the seminar he wishes to attend, and to prepare for active participation in its proceedings. Moreover we could make participation in one of the seminars binding upon all instructors, in line with his scientific work in the department. Such seminars might provide greater assistance and produce a greater payoff than 2-day conferences conducted during school time when the VUZes are in session, and many instructors are deprived of the possibility for participating in these conferences.

In turn the editor's office of the journal also intends to seek new forms of discussing debatable and little-studied problems (it should not be forgotten, however, that every scientific article should be debatable in the best and literal meaning of this term), and to be more active in organizing joint discussions of these problems with other journals, with major VUZ departments, with the USSR Philosophical Society and with the All-Union "Znaniye" Society.

The 27th CPSU Congress discussed the atmosphere of creativity that the party supports in all areas of life. It must be utilized by philosophers to the fullest degree for bold, resourceful statements of new problems and for their creative theoretical solution. The struggle against perpetual repetition of the same old ideas, which is especially intolerable in research work, and the struggle against dogmatism and monopoly in science, against violations of the norms of professional ethics, represent an important and very complex area of the work of the journal's editorial board and editor's office. Unfortunately the journal continually experiences an acute shortage of articles containing new ideas and approaches, innovative statements of problems--things which are demanded today by social practice and by the swift development of science and culture.

Another principal direction in the journal's activity is that of rendering direct assistance to instructors in the country's VUZes. The main forms of this assistance are: publication of literature surveys under the "In Aid of Instructors of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" rubric, discussion of theoretical problems of the pedagogical process in the VUZ, including theoretical problems concerned with instruction methods, and review of a significant number of textbooks and training aids published both by central publishing houses and locally.

Continual growth of the number of publications, differentiation of philosophical knowledge, nonuniformity of its development, and dominance of narrowly specialized works over works of a general nature have placed today's instructor (not just the novice but even the experienced instructor) in a difficult position. Instructors in most of the country's VUZes offering a complete training course in Marxist-Leninist philosophy are unable to assimilate or even superficially acquaint themselves with scientific literature pertaining to all topics of the study program today.

Almost 15 years ago the editor's office began publishing scientific analytical surveys of literature on certain topics in the program. The surveys were generally met by the journal's readers with approval; however, not all of them were successful, not all of them satisfied the high requirements imposed on them. In the time since then, the editor's office has been able to organize and publish surveys on almost all topics of the training course. Now that the All-Union Conference of Social Science Department Directors has approved a new edition of the training program, the time has apparently come to begin publishing surveys again with regard for the accumulated experience. There is one important thing that must be said here: Writing a scientific analytical survey, one which does not simply list the literature (that would make it just a bibliography on the given topic) but which offers a maximally objective, thoughtful comparison of different points of view, and which reveals those points of view which are the most important and promising--chiefly those which

can be utilized successfully in the pedagogical process, is an exceptionally complex and important effort, and the journal experiences many difficulties in finding authors and in working with survey manuscripts.

The editor's office of the journal is concerned by the almost total lack of articles on the theoretical and methodological problems of teaching social sciences in the VUZ. Many problems have been accumulated in this area. They were discussed at the conference, but it is now high time to do something positive to get things moving in this area again.

It has long become obvious that the process of teaching philosophy in the VUZ, as well as other social disciplines that shape the philosophy and the ideological convictions of the students, cannot be reduced to simple transmission of knowledge from the instructor to the student. The effectiveness of instruction depends chiefly on how well the unique features of the student audience, the developmental features of the young and the specific circumstances and events occurring in our country and in the arena of history are understood. Speaking more generally, philosophical knowledge and its dissemination in the VUZ cannot be interpreted separately and in isolation from the state of the society's life in general, since philosophy interacts in intricate fashion with various kinds of information flows and various forms of social consciousness--politics, law, art and commonplace ideas existing not somewhere in abstract spheres but in the minds of the students themselves. We need both concrete sociological research and deep philosophical generalization. But the main thing, as Ye. K. Ligachev emphasized at the conference, is to "bring instruction decisively closer to practice, rid lectures and seminars of simplified ideas about socialism. We cannot condone the situation where one thing is said in the lectures and the student sees something different in real life. The doors of VUZ lecture halls must be thrown open to the outside world; every lesson must be transformed into a school of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the pressing problems of modern times" (Ibid., p 18).

There are many unsolved problems in teaching practices themselves. The journal has taken part in the discussion on a number of them, such as for example the methodological aspects of problematic training. This discussion revealed not simply a divergence of points of view, but also a lack of study of the fundamental principles of the pedagogical process in the higher school. M. S. Gorbachev talked at the conference "about the need for dismantling dogmatic methods and procedures of instruction in the social sciences..., procedures which must emit an atmosphere of vibrant life" (Ibid., p 6). This is a large area of unexplored territory.

One of the most important problems facing the journal today is that of significantly raising the quality of the reviews it publishes. The party appeals to the social sciences and to the fine literature periodicals and all of periodical press to criticize reviewed books more incisively.

The editor's office of the journal is seriously concerned by the fact that it receives large numbers of reviews of a clearly low level, ones reminiscent more of annotations than of objective, principled discussions of the merits and shortcomings of particular publications. An improper practice has evolved

in which the bulk of the reviews are written by authors who themselves have not yet fully mastered the material of the topic under discussion, who are unable to indicate clearly the place which the book under review occupies among others on the same or similar topics, to reveal ideas that are really new, and to point out the debatable places, the real mistakes, and certain conclusions that are unwarranted or simply wrong. An eagerness to pay compliments, low expectations and sometimes even outright servility are significant shortcomings of reviewing practice, ones which are extremely hard to fight, but which must be fought. The editor's office intends to fight to increase the scientific level of published reviews with even greater energy and consistency in the future. If the journal is to complete the tasks posed to it by the party, it will have to get some assistance from the USSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade]. Many difficulties associated with the lengthy amount of time the type-setting copy of the journal spends in the printing office remain insurmountable today. Three months--that is the amount of time from the moment a manuscript is submitted for type-setting to the moment the subscriber receives the given issue of the journal--is hardly satisfactory to today's readers, who validly demand greater immediacy from it. We would hope that the USSR Goskomizdat will solve this problem.

M. S. Gorbachev said in his speech at the all-union conference that "now that the party has appealed to us to think and work in a new way, in many things we must also structure the process of education and indoctrination in a new way" (Ibid.). Thinking in a new way, conducting scientific research in a new way, teaching and indoctrinating students in a new way, such is the strategic line of the party in the present stage of Soviet society's development, a line which was laid at the basis of the multifaceted activities of all VUZ social scientists.

The editorial board and editor's office of the journal FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI believe that their most important task today is to promote implementation of the party line in an active and purposeful way. But this can be done only with the help of all of the journal's author collective. It all depends on you, our readers and authors.

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## PHILOSOPHY SEMINAR DISCUSSES SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 9 Dec 86)  
pp 90-92

[Unattributed article under the "Scientific Life" rubric: "Methodological Seminars: Their Role in Accelerating Scientific-Technical Progress"]

[Text] Our party's strategic course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development by utilizing the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress requires Soviet science to undergo qualitative reconstruction at all levels. Methodological seminars--a form of party training of scientific intelligentsia with the top qualifications--must play a significant role in reconstructing the thinking of scientists and raising the role of the human factor in science. An expanded meeting of the Central Council of Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences devoted to the problems of the theory and practice of accelerating scientific-technical progress was held in May 1986. Prominent scientists, VUZ instructors, representatives of production and party officials took part in its proceedings.

Academician Yu. A. Ovchinnikov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of its Central Council, emphasized in his opening address that the main objective of reconstructing scientific work is to develop the fundamental sciences. Reconstruction must begin with them. If institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences--the main headquarters of Soviet science--think that scientific-technical progress could go on if they worked today like they worked before, they are mistaken. Take for example the "world level" as a standard. We cannot speak simply of the world level, since it is forever changing in each area of science. But criteria do exist, and the collective wisdom of scientists can formulate them and utilize them in their specific areas of knowledge. Therefore each area of scientific research must have its authoritative collective organ, the decisions of which would prevail in relation to what may be called the highest level of scientific development. This organ should possess a certain amount of real power. Its recommendations must be accounted for when developing a number of directions of fundamental and applied science.

Academician K. V. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted that the issue as to the special responsibility of science before mankind is very important. To preclude possible negative consequences, it

must be understood that there are no minor facts, no minor variables in today's conditions. Everything is interwoven into a single whole. The time has come to think deeply about the primary importance of reliability--in the broad sense of this term--in technology and machine building.

Frolov noted that the Academy of Sciences has created the new Department of Machinery Science and the Problems of Mechanics and Control Processes. Major industrial institutes (containing both design offices and experimental production operations) have been encouraged to participate in the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and a number of new institutes have been created in industrially developed regions--institutes oriented upon dependability problems in the broad sense of the term. Frolov turned attention to the importance of combining the efforts of scientists of the Academy of Sciences, the higher school and sector institutes. Moreover the Central Council of Methodological Seminars could be the one to play the role of unifier of these forces. We have become accustomed to the terms "sector science," "VUZ science" and "academy science," we make regular use of them, and we are beginning to believe that different sciences of some sort do exist. Our methodological seminars must explain that science is one. Frolov concluded by turning attention to the need for seeking sensible forms of action which would ensure introduction of all accomplishments. We have ordered the scientific councils of the Academy of Sciences to conduct an "inventory" of sorts: to clarify what has been done today in the country in individual directions of science in the USSR Academy of Sciences, the higher school and sector institutes. All of these councils must subject major plans and far-reaching technical concepts to expert assessment, because today's situation is such that a given sector creates a high-output installation costing millions of rubles, affecting the lives of millions of people and covering huge amounts of territory, while problems are solved within the sector itself without the help of the major scientific forces and potentials of the Academy of Sciences.

Analyzing the social and philosophical aspects of scientific-technical progress, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member I. T. Frolov, editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST, turned attention to the fact that there are two sides to the development of scientific-technical progress. We have understated the danger which such a dichotomy generates. Notions that negative phenomena brought into being by scientific-technical progress are possible in the West and impossible in a socialist country do not correspond to reality. As with any social system, socialism guarantees very many things, but it does not guarantee things which do not have a relationship to the system but have a relationship to scientific-technical progress itself. People determining the paths of development of scientific-technical progress must know not only what it provides as a positive result but also what it provides as a negative result. The preparations that were made to reverse the flow of rivers did not account for socioeconomic and humanitarian aspects. In many cases it is assumed that social aspects are something supplementary, and never decisive. But when the discussion turns to a project that affects the lives of tens of millions of people, we are dealing with a great social problem. We need a new way of thinking, a new way of understanding science, one which would presuppose inclusion of cultural and humanitarian evaluations as an organic part of its composition. Science and values, the ethics of science: This is a problem to which our scientists must turn increasingly greater

attention. We have almost no literature devoted to the social, philosophical and ethical problems of scientific-technical progress, including that associated with bioengineering, and so on. And yet these problems are literally "pounding on the door." Frolov concluded by noting the successful joint work of the Scientific Council on Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology and the Central Council of Methodological Seminars, and he dwelled on problems requiring further concentration of effort. They include the methodological and humanitarian aspects of the development of nuclear power, aggravation of global problems including ecological, social, philosophical and ethical problems of new ecology, to include research on human life, and the problems of reconstructing the system of philosophical education.

Academician V. Ye. Sokolov turned attention to the fact that scientific-technical progress is associated with man's increasingly more energetic influence upon the environment. The problem of negative effects is acquiring an international character, and its solution is already being associated with surmounting special interests in individual regions and states. It is precisely now that the principles of international policy on environmental problems and ecology are being laid, and these problems are extremely complex. Sokolov stressed that in contrast to the extensive path, the intensive path of socioeconomic development is characterized by deeper utilization of all resources, by wasteless production in the broad sense, and by continual improvement of environmental conditions. Theoretical findings argue for the need for parallel existence of scientific-technical progress, intensive management of the economy and optimization of the environment. But all of this requires considerable effort, and chiefly the effort of scientists, since it is only on the basis of scientific knowledge and development that the environment can be preserved and improved.

USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries Chairman I. S. Nayashkov emphasized that enterprises must be encouraged to introduce new technology both economically and ethically. As long as the inventor plays the supplicant's role and the enterprise acts in the position of master, we will not solve the problem of introducing new technology.

Academician N. M. Zhavoronkov devoted his talk to the role of new construction materials as an important lever by which to accelerate scientific-technical progress. Construction materials are the general base which determines the qualitative level and improvement of modern technological articles in large part. This is why the pace of research on and the rate of industrial production of construction materials must be increased significantly. We also need to change the psychology of scientific workers, designers, and workers in industry and management, such that construction materials would be viewed by them today as a most important lever of technical progress--not as materials of the future but rather as materials of today, of the 12th and all the more so the 13th five-year plans.

V. I. Stepanov, deputy director of the Propaganda Division of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the All-Union Palace of Political Education under the CPSU Central Committee turned special attention to methodological support to study of the problems of scientific-technical progress at methodological

seminars, and he formulated the most important objectives of their activity as implied by decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Promoting study of the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress, the seminar organizers are striving to achieve a better relationship between important philosophical problems and the specific objectives of their collectives associated with accelerating scientific-technical progress, activating the human factor and surmounting inertia, obsolete approaches and established stereotypes. Proposals for conducting combined lessons and seminars sponsored on one side by scientific research institutes and on the other side by scientific-production collectives or engineering centers are very important in this regard. Their purpose would be to jointly examine the problems of scientific-technical progress that are most important to the collectives. We do not presently have an organization which could discuss such problems jointly. And yet as we know, the most productive results appear at the boundary between different sciences and at the boundary between science and production. Utilizing methodological seminars for this purpose would be effective. Joint conferences of the participants of methodological seminars of academy and sector scientific research institutes, VUZes and production collectives should become a regular practice. Stepanov emphasized that the organizers of methodological seminars and party workers are doing the right thing in voicing their requests that the journals VOPROSY FILOSOFII, FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, VESTNIK AN SSSR and POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE and the sector journals publish more extensively on the experience of methodological seminars in publicizing the problems of scientific-technical progress, accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and improving scientific methodological support to methodological seminars.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

### FUNCTIONS OF LAW OFFICE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS OUTLINED

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST in Russian No 3, Mar 87 [signed to press 4 Mar 87] pp 30-32]

[Interview with Sergey Andreyevich Sarantsev, chairman of the Law Office for International Affairs [Inyurkollegiya], by N. Zaikin on the occasion of the law office's 50th anniversary in March, under the rubric "Meetings in the Editorial Offices": "The Lawyers of the Law Office for International Affairs -- Defending Rights and Legal Interests"; exact date of interview not given, first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST introduction]

[Text] In the center of Moscow, at No. 5 Gorkiy Street, stands the Law Office for International Affairs. Here one can meet both Soviet citizens and foreigners, who have come for legal help. In March, the Law Office is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its establishment. And today, its director, Sergey Andreyevich Sarantsev, was a guest in our editorial offices.

[Question] Sergey Andreyevich, not even all lawyers have a precise understanding of what the workers of the Law Office for International Affairs do, of specifically what kinds of problems they handle. Perhaps you can begin our discussion by telling us about this?

[Answer] To talk about the main thing, the Law Office provides services to citizens and juridical persons in matters regarding legal relationships that are regulated by international private law. I'm speaking first of all about civil law, marriage and family, and labor relationships. In particular, we accept assignments to handle cases concerning inheritance, recovery of family support payments, dissolution of marriages, and the return of children, concerning personal property, insurance and pension payment claims, and bank deposits, and concerning reimbursement of property damage. Recently, we have had more cases connected with foreign trade transactions and international shipments.

In other words, our institution defends the rights and legal interests of Soviet citizens and organizations abroad, participates in the resolution of civil cases involving foreign citizens and organizations in the USSR, and provides various kinds of legal assistance (inquiries, consultations, document searches, etc.) to Soviet and foreign citizens and organizations.

We now have about 16,000 cases in the works: two-thirds of them have to do with inheritance.

[Question] Who works in the Law Office for International Affairs, what kinds of requirements do its employees have to meet?

[Answer] The special features of our work suggest the answer to this question. First of all, they must have a legal education and a knowledge of foreign languages. Besides, the "pure", so to speak, lawyers, graduates of the Institute of International Relations and of the Faculty of International Economic Relations of the Moscow Financial Institute can work successfully with us, inasmuch as they have a good preparation in international private law and know no fewer than two foreign languages. Our staff also includes a group of qualified translators -- since there is a constantly arising need to communicate abroad via telex, telephone and the mails, and to participate in negotiations with foreign lawyers. It should be noted here that a Law Office worker is prohibited from appearing in a foreign court in the capacity of a lawyer for a Soviet citizen or as a representative of a juridical person. He can be present in the court and can consult with his client before and in the course of its proceedings, but only a lawyer of the country where the trial is being held takes part in them. This principle also applies in our country: representatives of the Law Office for International Affairs appear in Soviet courts in the capacity of lawyers. As regards arbitration (The Foreign Trade Arbitration Commission and the Maritime Arbitration Commission), then lawyers from foreign countries can take part in proceedings and can be heard by the arbitrators concerning the substance of a case.

The reputation of the Law Office, both inside the USSR and abroad, depends upon how effectively it defends the interests of its clients, whether they be Soviet citizens, foreigners, or stateless persons. Therefore, we place increased demands on our workers with regard to their qualifications. In this connection, we would like to reach a mutual understanding with the USSR Ministry of Justice with regard to providing our colleagues with an opportunity to improve their juridical training at the All-Union Institute for the Advanced Training of Justice Ministry Workers.

We now have 186 persons on our staff, of whom 128 are working in Moscow and the rest in Law Office representations in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, and Leningrad. The management of the Office considers it useful and necessary to combine the mastery of senior coworkers with the energy and the desire of young ones to grasp the fine points of our affairs. Yu. Isayev, S. Artemyev, and M. Yudova (Moscow) are successfully adopting the experience of such workers as R. Sokolov, B. Kuzmine, Ye. Kulichev, N. Potapov, and T. Laskin. Of those who work in our representations, I want to mention V. Tkachuk and P. Krivenko (Kiev), Z. Bazilevich (Lvov), N. Semerak (Uzhgorod), G. Valinskene (Vilnius), and O. Dobrotvorskiy (Minsk).

[Question] How was the Law Office for International Affairs created?

[Answer] Up until 1922, its functions were fulfilled by the Executive Committee of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Society: then, until

March 1937, by the Kredit-Buro stock company. When the latter was abolished, its case portfolio was passed on to the Law Office for International Affairs -- a collective of lawyers for "the conduct of affairs abroad", as described in the Statute of 26 March 1937 concerning our organization which, incidentally, was published in the journal SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST.

In the first years of the existence of the Law Office, doubts were expressed in other countries as to whether or not it could completely fulfill its functions. Fifty years of activity, however, have completely refuted these doubts, and a strict observation of socialist legality in solving all issues is a reliable guarantee of the quality of our work.

[Question] What legal norms are basic to the activity of the Law Office?

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[Question] What legal norms are basic to the activity of the Law Office?

[Answer] In thtates are built on the basis of observing the principles of sovereign equality, mutual rejection of the use of force or the threat of force, inviolability of borders, territorial integrity of nations, peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of peoples to determine their own fate, conscientious fulfillment of obligations stemming from generally accepted principles and norms of international law and from international agreements concluded by the USSR." It is guided by these principles, that our country is prepared to use all means to develop international cooperation. They are also basic to the activity of the Law Office for International Affairs.

In the second place, Article 37 of the USSR Constitution, which guarantees to foreign citizens and stateless persons the rights and freedoms which are envisaged by the law, including "the right to apply to the court and to other state organs for protection of the personal, property, family and other rights belonging to them."

Our country has a constant concern for the guarantees of these rights. For example, USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 1064, of 28 August 1986, "On Amending the Statute on Entry into and Exit from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" went into effect on 1 January of this year. In particular, it indicates that "the conclusion of a marriage" and "the resolution of questions of inheritance" are bases for entering our country and for leaving its borders. The specific rights and obligations of the Law Office for International Affairs, and the procedures under which it operates, are regulated by the Statute which was mentioned earlier.

[Question] It would be interesting to learn specific details concerning individual categories of cases.

[Answer] First, regarding inheritance cases. With practically all countries of Western Europe and with the United States, Canada, and Australia, we resolve these cases based on the principle of reciprocity with regard to the transfer of inherited amounts.

More than 500 legal, banking, insurance and other organizations (trust funds, executors) are collaborating with the Law Office for International Affairs, not to mention the Soviet embassies and consulates in various countries. The Law Office has contract relationships with those law firms, with which it has had long-term business ties. For example, such relations were established in 1956 with the firm of Wolf, Popper, Ross, Wolf and Jones; with others, agreements have been signed comparatively recently and, before this, there has been an exchange of letters concerning the principles of collaboration. It cannot be said that all correspondent lawyers have necessarily been eager to conclude a written agreement (contract). They find an exchange of letters, a "gentleman's agreement" to be entirely suitable, inasmuch as nothing is so highly valued in the business world as the ability to keep one's word.

The principles of working with foreign correspondents are simple: no charge is made for conducting an inquiry regarding inherited assets and heirs but a fixed, agreed-upon scale of honoraria is levied, based on the net amount of the inheritance and, additionally, court costs are paid out of the inheritance. It is true that not all law firms want to work with us on this basis and that certain of them raise the question of increasing the honoraria rates. This is explained by inflation, oversaturation of the "lawyers market", and the possibility of out-of-pocket expenses. Certainly, the Law Office For International Affairs must reexamine its policy for handling cases abroad, especially in the countries of Latin America, where lawyers refuse to perform any kind of activity without pay.

Do we get large "million-dollar" cases? We do, but relatively infrequently. Basically, our cases run to 10-15,000 American dollars. After deduction of honoraria to the lawyers, of course, the amount is reduced.

I'll also touch on the function of carrying out searches for heirs and inheritance assets. We do this both abroad, through a system of correspondents, and in the USSR through our own representations, and also by means of publishing announcements in the central (IZVESTIYA), republic and oblast newspapers.

In such inquiries, the Law Office works closely with the Main Archives Directorate of the USSR Council of Ministers, with the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense, with the diplomatic history administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and with other organizations. A distinctive, sufficiently effective investigative methodology exists. The following case can be used as a good example of its use. A partner of the US law firm of Rabinowitz, Gordon, Nelson and Bernstein, a Mr. Nelson came to Moscow on 17 November 1986 and visited the Law Office for International Affairs with a proposal for a case involving a large inheritance, in which it was necessary to locate the recipient of a legacy. He gave only his name, albeit garbled, and, judging from everything, did not have particular confidence in the success of the inquiry. Mr. Nelson left with a tourist group to Leningrad and, when he returned on 24 November, a Soviet woman, K., was invited to a meeting with him, at which she provided all necessary information proving her kinship to the deceased US citizen.

[Question] We must assume that citizens of our country also come to you with similar requests...

[Answer] Yes, but in this case the inquiry process takes more time, inasmuch as it occurs in other countries with the participation of foreign lawyers and firms. Moreover, some claimants think that it is sufficient to provide the most negligible of information, such as "my uncle left a deposit in one of the Swiss banks", for the Law Office, on the spot, to find and return it to the legal heir. This is a delusion. Experience shows that even when there is very precise information concerning the amount of a deposit, the name of a bank, and its location, it is extremely difficult to conduct an inquiry. Banks and insurance companies are very unwilling to become involved in a verification of data that, as a rule, is 20 or 30 years old and to end up with a negative answer or with the proposition of paying a rather large sum for checking out these data with no guarantee of success.

It is necessary to clarify that the Law Office for International Affairs does not conduct searches for relatives who dropped from sight during the years of the Second World War or who have been lost afterwards. This does not fall among its functions. But, unfortunately, such requests sometimes come to us.

[Question] In the organizational table of the Law Office, there is a department for foreign representation. What kinds of tasks does it have?

[Answer] The cases which are handled in this department are given special attention, inasmuch as they are very complicated and, most importantly, often determine people's fates. I will give an example to confirm what I have said.

The case in which an adolescent Soviet girl, Juliette Konyushenko, the daughter of Soviet citizen S. Konyushenko, who has been detained by French court authorities, is well known to Soviet readers. The newspaper PRAVDA wrote about this on 9 January 1986 in an article entitled "Juliette has a Motherland". Zealots of bourgeois freedom are putting up all possible kinds of barriers in front of a welcoming father to the return of Juliette, who in 1984 found herself, by force of circumstances, far from her homeland without parents (her mother had died under tragic circumstances in France). The Law Office was presented with the heavy load of taking part in the settlement of such an unusual and delicate case: the appeal of the decision of the French court to place Juliette under the care of outside people and the preparation of various documents, appeals and guarantees. The Law Office is receiving a great deal of help in this case from its correspondent in France, M. Jacques Saada. We face a difficult struggle (and this is a completely justified word in this particular instance) with French Justice, but there is every basis for believing that justice will prevail.

The Law Office for International Affairs is also trying to assist another Soviet girl, N. who lost her parents in an automobile accident in Scotland and herself received serious bodily injuries. And these are not the only examples.

[Question] Sergey Andreyevich, having taken over as the head of the Law Office several years ago, you have done a great deal to restructure its work. Where do the most immediate reserves for improving its activity lie?

[Answer] They lie in hoped-for organizational changes and in our internal potentials. To be self-critical, we should recognize that insufficient work has been done of various questions. In particular, we cannot satisfy ourselves with the fact that there are still instances when answers to questions from clients concerning the status of cases are not being given on a timely basis and we are not being sufficiently active in corresponding with our foreign correspondents on a timely basis and we are not being sufficiently active in corresponding with our foreign correspondents. Our foreign correspondents must be guided by the provisions of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Socialist Legality and Law and Order, on Strengthening Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens", having accepted this as one of the important, integral aspects of the restructuring we are carrying out.

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ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS OF LAW ON STATE ENTERPRISES DISCUSSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by N. Fedorenko, academician; K. Gofman, doctor of economic sciences; and Ya. Varum, candidate of economic sciences, under rubric "The Enterprise and Restructuring: We Discuss the Draft of the USSR Law": "The Economics of Ecology"]

[Text] The draft of the USSR Law entitled "The State Enterprise (Association)" provides for major changes in the use of natural resources and in environmental protection. It is established that enterprises carry out these activities chiefly by drawing on their own funds and credit (Article 20, paragraph 2). It is well known that, under the present management conditions, environmental protection does not completely conform to the cost-accounting interests of the labor collectives. In order to change the situation, the draft of the Law contains an innovation that should have been introduced long ago -- payments for the use of natural resources, which payments currently are employed in economic practice only in the form of an exception. Without these payments it is impossible to administer the use of natural resources by economic methods. Moreover, complete cost accounting and self-financing will not provide the maximum benefit without payments for the use of all the most important natural resources, including payments for land and water in agriculture, and for discharging hazardous waste products into the environment.

But will this be sufficient to make environmental protection just as significant in the socioeconomic sense as the other types of the enterprise's activities? The answer would seem to be no, and therefore the draft of the Law requires, in our opinion, certain amendments and refinements.

Recently we have been saying much to the effect that the intactness of the environment must become an absolutely mandatory condition for economic activity. And yet that is not correct. It is not a condition, but, rather, one of the final goals of the enterprises' activities, a task of exactly the same rank and importance as the satisfying of the needs for output and services, and the social development of the collective. Therefore Section III of the law should more correctly be called: "Production, social, and environmental-protection activities of the enterprise."

Furthermore, it is necessary to refine the goals of environmental-protection activities. In the draft of the Law (Article 20, paragraph 1) it is stated that "the environmental-protection measures being carried out by the enterprise must completely compensate the detrimental effect that production has upon the environment." But compensating for damage that has already been caused is always more expensive than preventing it. In addition, the damage inflicted on the environment in by no means all instances lends itself to compensation. The losses of unique landscapes, the genetic fund, etc. are irreplaceable by any "compensatory" measures. Therefore it would be more accurate to formulate the situation as follows: "The environmental-protection measures being carried out by the enterprises must guarantee the observance of the established standards for discharging pollutants and other hazardous effects of production upon the environment, with a consideration of the prospects of making those standards consistently more rigid."

What kind of economic mechanism for the environmental-protection activities can exist for the enterprises operating on principles of complete cost accounting and self-financing?

In our opinion, the accumulation by the collective of the funds for these purposes must occur by means of deductions (payments) payable to the special targeted account for environmental protection. These accounts are necessary first of all for the ecologically most dangerous enterprises in the fuel and energy complex and the branches that produce construction materials and chemical products.

It would be desirable for the rates for deductions to be paid into the special environmental-protection accounts to be established in terms of each unit of pollution entering the environment. Those rates must be in direct proportion to the hazard represented by the particular pollution and the number of persons, as well as the ecologically vulnerable natural objects (preserves, recreational areas, etc.) that are located under its influence. The rates should be viewed as long-term economic standards that are established as a minimum for a five-year period.

Now let us change over to the most important factor. The deductions to be paid into the special environmental-protection account must be taken from the enterprise's profit before it is channeled into the economic incentive funds. The special account must also have channeled into it the total amounts of the depreciation of the environmental-protection fixed assets -- purification, decontamination structures, etc.

How, then, in this instance will the cost-accounting conditions of the environmental-protection work at the enterprises change?

The enterprise's cost-accounting income will now prove to be inversely dependent upon its harmful effect upon the environment. Consequently, there will arise an economic self-interestedness in decreasing the hazardous discharges. Currently as everyone knows, there is only one material incentive -- the threat of penalty sanctions for exceeding the standards of the maximum admissible discharges. Of course, the legislatively stipulated compensation of the damage resulting from pollution of the environment in excess of the

established standards is absolutely necessary. However, this "negative" encouragement under the new management conditions must be reinforced by the "positive" encouragement of environmental-protection activities: for every ruble of expenditures, the enterprises must receive an increase added onto the economic incentive funds which is no less than that from the expenditures for the basic production. This is especially necessary now, when there has been a sharp curtailment in the number of planning assignments that are approved for the enterprises, including those for environmental-protection measures.

Thus, the enterprises must accumulate the funds to be paid into the special environmental-protection account by making deductions for their own profit in proportion to their detrimental effect upon the environment: the greater that effect, the more funds will have to be deducted for payment into the special account. The damages caused by pollution in excess of the standards must also be compensated from profits. Naturally, the funds from the special account can be used by the enterprises strictly for the designated purposes, under the supervision of the environmental-protection agencies and the bank institutions. Some of the funds must be transferred (reserved) for the formation of centralized sources of financing the environmental-protection measures, primarily republic and local ones, and in individual instances, branch environmental-protection funds. It is, however, necessary for the centralization procedure to be strictly regulated and for it to remain unchanged for at least the duration of the five-year plan: the enterprises must be guaranteed the stability of the financial base of their environmental-protection activities.

That, in general features, is the economic mechanism for the environmental-protection activities of enterprises, which mechanism would make it possible for cost accounting to become not the enemy of the environment (as sometimes happens nowadays), but its friend.

5075

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# LYUBERTSY YOUTH GANGS ATTACK 'PUNKS, METALLISTS, HIPPIES'

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 5 Jan 87 pp 20-21

[Article by Vladimir Yakovlev under the rubric "Young People: Affairs and Problems": "The Office of the 'Lyubertsy'"; first paragraph is OGONEK introduction]

[Text] "In a discotheque at the Olympic Sports Complex in Moscow I overheard a snatch of conversation: "It'll be good if the Lyubertsy Gang doesn't show up." I went up to the ones who said that -- they were evidently in charge of the musical program -- and asked them what the Lyubertsy Gang was. "As soon as they start a fight with the heavy metal fans, you'll see for yourself..." So just what are these 'Lyubertsy'?" -- I. Mironov, Yuzho-Sakhalinsk

A light autumn rain was falling evenly on the sleeping city. Neon lights reflected in fragments in a wet mirror of asphalt. I glanced at my watch: the last train for Lyubertsy was just pulling away from the platform of Kazan Station. They appeared at the far end of the boulevard just at the moment when I had almost decided to give up waiting. Four of them... Hands held stiffly behind their backs. The typical sauntering gait. Light jackets, unseasonably light, and clown-style broad checked trousers, humorous in appearance, but made so as to not hinder movement in a fight.

"Hey, boy, come here!" they said, stopping about 10 meters away from me.

I stood up from the wet bench where I had been sitting.

"What kind of pin have you got there?"

It was a pin from a rock festival I had been to, and I had worn it on purpose, hoping to arouse their interest. There was another detail that I had not expected. Narrow black ties against a background of white shirts -- the last thing I saw before I was bent over by an unexpected blow...

The "Lyubertsy Gang." That is really just an ad hoc designation. Astonishingly little is known about them. And even the militia has only extremely fragmentary information. In the evening they come into Moscow from the city of Lyubertsy and roam the downtown area in small groups. How many of

them are there? Difficult to say. How organized are they? Unknown. Why do they come to the city? That, perhaps, is the only thing which is known of them with absolute certainty.

AN ENCOUNTER AT NOGIN SQUARE. Three guys in the checked uniform. Igor Dmitriyev is fifteen, and Sergey Smirnov and Dmitriy Lyakhov are both sixteen. All three are strong, their bulging biceps obvious even underneath their shirts.

"Why do you come to Moscow?"

"We come to beat up punks, hippies and heavy metal rockers, and break dancers, too..." [We ask the reader's indulgence of the fact that, when designating these informal teenage groups, we use the slang names -- "panki," "khippi," "metallisty" and "breykery" -- by which they identify themselves, names which are often imitations of terms used by their foreign peers. This is yet another point which underscores the lack of mental independence on the part of the "heroes" of this story. -- editor's comment]

As little as three or four years ago the "Lyubertsy" were almost unknown. However, in such a short time they have done a lot. It took me several days to make the rounds of the places where members of informal Moscow youth groups hang out: most often in cafes or bars, more seldom on small squares, deserted after early evening by the harmless old women and mothers with strollers, whose places are then occupied by kids with multicolored stripes in their hair or chains around their neck. My questions varied little:

"What do you know about the Lyubertsy Gang?" I asked.

Nor did the answers vary much. Heavy metal rockers, punks and break dancers all eagerly told me about clashes with Lyubertsy Gang members. Small fights took place literally every night. Incidentally, the fights were not the main problem. There had been run-ins between various factions before. What was surprising was something else: the "Lyubertsy" fought alone against everybody else. What is more, they were always the ones who started the fights. They simply attacked, leaving their "opponents" to defend themselves as best they could. They went looking for trouble. They went looking, even though usually they did not have the slightest reason to do so. Why?

AN ENCOUNTER ON GOGOLEV BOULEVARD. There were about fifty of them. They came out of the Kropotkinskaya Subway Station and sat down in the darkness on benches, waiting for something.

"What are you doing here?"

"We're waiting for hippies. They're having a [tusovka] today. We'll break them up," answered a kid of about seventeen named Boris Taranov.

"But why?"

"Hippies, punks and heavy metal rockers are a disgrace to the Soviet way of life. We want to clean them out of the capital."

I frankly admit that when I first heard that statement I did not believe that it was sincere. But when I heard that answer repeated again, and a second time, and a third, there was no doubting it.

We are unaccustomed to hearing this sort of statement from young people. How many years now have we evaluated informal youth groups primarily from a negative standpoint, how many years have we attempted to solve the difficult problem of how best to combat them? It is difficult to believe that it could be otherwise. But the fact remains: the "Lyubertsy" virtually never drink or smoke, and as far as we know they do not use drugs. They work out in sports facilities built with their own hands. Of course, street fighting is not a method of educating their otherwise-inclined peers. But these kids still have much to learn. They can be set straight. Or do they need to be set straight? It is a well-known fact that "hippies," "punks" and "heavy metal rockers," all these types who go around wearing chains and bracelets, with multicolored streaks in their hair or hair down to their shoulders, do not pay attention to words. So, should they perhaps be educated a different way? And what is the harm if peers decide to settle things among themselves as they see fit? This ought to make us glad!

But for some reason I did not feel glad. Just as I, incidentally, did not want to believe it. The "Lyubertsy" explained their actions with strange ease, as if they were spouting formulas which had been set forth once and for all. And the kinds of sports they were studying in their gyms were strange, too: gymnastics, karate, boxing, self-defense. Yes, they were pursuing laudable goals. But the goal is not everything.

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS. Yevgeniy Dmitreyev (a "hippie"): "They stopped me on Marx Boulevard and asked me why I had such long hair, and whether they ought to give me money for a haircut. Then they immediately began beating me. And then they began to stop passersby, leading them over to me and asking them how they could stand to look at such a disgusting sight. After that two of them held me while a third cut off all my hair with scissors. Then they beat me up..."

Yelena Borisova (a "punk"): "They approached me in a park of culture when I was on the way home from a disco one evening. One of them said:

'Hey, girl, I like you. You're coming with me!'

Later my friends told me that that sort of thing happened often. And that I had actually been lucky that they hadn't beaten me half to death. They beat girls badly, because girls can't defend themselves..."

Boris Sergachev (a member of the "Lyubertsy"): "What did we do tonight? Lots! We just had a go at a punk. What? No, we didn't beat him up too badly. When he fell down we didn't even kick him..."

I heard many other stories like these. Too many to brush them aside as unpleasant exceptions to the rule. These stories had nothing to do with noble intentions, nor did, for example, the fact that the "Lyubertsy" only attack

when they have a large and absolute numerical advantage. Three against one. Ten against three. I involuntarily began to get the impression that what I was seeing were merely ordinary teenagers, bright ones, who had concocted a scheme to conceal hooliganism behind lofty principles. But that impression was too simplistic. The majority of the "Lyubertsy" whom I met genuinely believed that they would someday achieve their objective and purge the city of punks, hippies and heavy metal fans. And some were even making plans for that time in the, in their opinion, near future, when they would "make peace" with their reeducated opponents. And every last one of them believed in the importance and social value of what they were doing. No, the "Lyubertsy" were not faking when they spoke of their noble intentions. But, if you think about it, what is the difference between an ordinary hooligan and a hooligan acting out of "ideological" motivations? There is a limit in the choice of methods, beyond which limit noble goals lose their value and become transformed into vulgar mimicry, serving only to defend one against condemnation by society and one's own conscience.

AN ENCOUNTER IN GORKY PARK. Five guys in the hall at the Seasons Cafe. Chatting with girls. All have obviously just met while dancing.

"At home in Lyubertsy there aren't many discos. And those aren't very good. It's completely dull there in the evening. But it's excellent here!"

There really are few discotheques in Lyubertsy. And few movie theaters, few clubs. It is dull in Lyubertsy in the evening. So the guys build up their biceps, learn pain-inflicting tricks and go out to defend their rights in a "place in the sun." Is that the way it is? Oh, if it were that simple!

Lyubertsy is a small city with narrow streets, gray five-story apartment buildings and a train station. In one way or another everything revolves around the train station. A town where people go to bed early and get up early. I realized this as soon as I got off the train from the city. But this first impression was soon to be disproven.

For at least an hour we wandered through the streets, looking for any one of those basement gyms, wanting to meet the people we would find there. After finding one -- in the very center of town, beside the Slavyanka Cafe -- we discovered that we had been watched from the moment we first asked directions from the first young man we met.

The guys in the cellar were red-cheeked, muscular and sure of themselves, heartily pounding a punching bag and eagerly showing off a huge arsenal of barbells and body-building equipment... Their actions could hardly be explained by the "suburban teenager" complex, which has long been known, and by that alone...

Over the past year the city's Komsomol committee and internal affairs administration have done a great deal toward solving the problem we were investigating. Surprise inspection brigades had checked out all the basements in the city and brought to light all the "underground" sections. Some of them were closed, the rest were reoriented toward organized athletics. A director was appointed in each section. Specialists from a young people's sports

school and social worker/coaches were brought in. The cultural program was approached just as seriously: more discotheques were opened, and they got better. But the number of "Lyubertsy" in Moscow did not decrease in the slightest. Furthermore, it became clear that they found it quite easy to avoid both the surprise inspections and scrutiny by militia organs. After all the inspections were completed and lists of those working out in the basements sections drawn up, almost 500 persons had been registered. These lists were then compared with lists of teenagers arrested recently by the militia in Moscow. Only three names were found on both lists...

"Don't think that we are doing nothing," I was told at the Lyubertsy Komsomol Gorkom. "We have begun monitoring the basement gyms, but does that mean that the problem is solved? The gyms are not the only problem. They can learn karate at home, too. And there we can't keep tabs on them or stop them!"

Paradoxical as it may seem, I returned from Lyubertsy still without a clear answer to the question of "Who are the 'Lyubertsy'?" Who are they, these kids who set out for Moscow every evening on the first car of the 7:00 pm train? Who hides behind nicknames like Rabbit, Cabinet, Iron and Loose?

AN ENCOUNTER ON THE COMMUTER TRAIN. Six guys in checked clowns' trousers, white shirts and narrow black ties. We shoot the breeze about various things on the platform of the car for about 15 minutes. As the train approaches Moscow, one of them asks:

"Have you heard our anthem?"

He proceeds to quote the first verse:

We were born and grew up in Lyubertsy,  
The center of brute strength.  
And we believe that our dream will come true,  
And Lyubertsy will become the center of Russia.

Childish fancy? Quite probably. But why does it make a sinister chill run down my spine?

I walked around nighttime Moscow with one member of the "Lyubertsy Gang," Igor Seregin.

"We call ourselves an 'office'," he told me. "We divide up in groups. Each group has a leader. It isn't easy to get into the office. It isn't enough to just know the guys. You have to be in a major street fight. You have to prove yourself."

"And how does one do that?" I ask, involuntarily slowing my pace.

"You have to prove that you're smart, polite and evil!" he bursts out.

All right, an "office," not just individual little groups of suburban teenagers in clown trousers. And not just a case of looking for someone on

whom to test one's strength out of boredom, after building up muscles out of boredom. A case of training especially for the purpose of beating up people.

AN ENCOUNTER AT THE GLORIYA BAR. The "Lyubertsy" have taken over most of the tables. I pulled up a chair to one of them. The guys are very cheery, but they had not been drinking. At first they answer my questions honestly. Then they begin to ask questions themselves:

"You tell us, why are there punks, for example? Or break dancers? Why? It's not just us who don't like them. Nobody likes them."

They, the "Lyubertsy," consider themselves normal, the kind of people that EVERYBODY ought to be. "Punks" are the others. "Hippies" and "heavy metal" fans are the others. From the "office's" point of view this is sufficient to raise a fundamental question: so why do these others exist? Do they have a right to exist? This also suffices as a reply, with a firm conviction in their own righteousness: No! No room for doubt! Not every human being should be considered a human being. And beat up everybody who thinks otherwise! Because whoever thinks otherwise is wrong and is therefore guilty!

One curious detail: the "Lyubertsy" have enough money to frequent bars, discos and restaurants and, if they miss the last train, to take taxis home; they even have enough money for the rather expensive equipment for their gyms. And there is another detail which is no less curious: the guys from the "office" do not simply beat up hippies, punks and heavy metal rockers. They also, with a peculiar thoroughness, take away their badges, leather bracelets and pendants -- everything which is a sign of membership in a particular group. As they put it, they appropriate them as attributes of an "alien lifestyle." But if we consider the massive nature of these thefts, then we must inevitably ask ourselves: where does all of this stuff go? This question is all the more pertinent since among rock fans a pin bearing the symbol of a popular rock group costs 10 rubles or more. And pins are not the only things. What about heavy metal fans' riveted denim jackets? Or sports fans' brightly-colored scarves? Or albums of music "unworthy of the Soviet man"? What happens to all these things?

AN ENCOUNTER IN GORKY PARK. A rare occurrence: there are only two of them. At my request, one of them shows me their take for the night: approximately eight brightly-colored pins.

"What am I going to do with them?" he says, cautiously repeating my question. "Oh... I'll throw them away."

Then he carefully put the pins back in his pocket.

Older "Lyubertsy," those over 20, no longer wear the overly conspicuous checked trousers, and they no longer get into fights over "trivialities." They rob speculators, taking away their goods. They rob second-hand dealers, taking away their Vneshposyltorg [export of Soviet industrial and food products to Soviet citizens and institutions abroad] checks. Are we to assume that they throw those away, too?

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS. Igor Menshikov: "Two months ago I was robbed by the "Lyubertsy." They took my albums and a bag full of things. But I have a friend in Lyubertsy. I called him and complained. Within a week I got the albums and the bag back..."

Oleg Panin: "Once they caught me, beat me up and took a really great pin off of me. Then three weeks later I happened to see a friend wearing the very same pin."

"Where did you get that," I asked."

"I bought it!" he said. "For 10 rubles..."

I might add to this that members of the "Lyubertsy Gang" have repeatedly been arrested at commission shops in Moscow for speculation. What can I say -- the picture is extremely clear. However, there are some other points requiring further commentary. The "office" consists of organized groups of teenagers who are acquainted with one another and who hold similar views -- is that all there is to it? Perhaps so. But maybe not. There is a strange, seemingly calculated uniformity in the actions of the "Lyubertsy," both young and old. There is the fact that in Lyubertsy itself incidents similar to those in Moscow do not occur, and the fact that members of the "Lyubertsy Gang" are only attracted to groups of teenagers who, for one reason or another, cannot turn to the militia for help. And this leads one inevitably to ask: their actions are not coincidental -- could they be directed by some skillful and experienced hand?

No, I will not deceive the reader, I was unable to learn very much about the current kings of the "office." Information about them is incomplete and fragmentary. It is said that they have a criminal record. I was unable to meet with the kings. I was able to meet with someone who, using the same monarchic terminology, would obviously be considered a "prince." This prince was about 27 years old, tall and broad-shouldered, a man of few words. His vanity wrestled in his soul with caution. Did the kids follow his orders? Yes, you could say that. How many people could he assemble within, say, two hours? One hundred? Two hundred? No, more than two hundred.

"Tell me," I asked him, "do you really believe that you will be able to reeducate the hippies, punks and heavy metal fans?"

The prince did not reply. He simply smiled condescendingly and immediately lost interest in the conversation. Of course he, a grown-up, serious individual, did not believe that. The younger guys needed faith, because it gave them a sense of the rightness of what they were doing. But faith is only a means to an end. Basically, dozens of young "Lyubertsy" are right now going through a sort of school of violence on the nighttime streets of the city; in that school one "simple truth" becomes extremely clear and obvious: you can rob people, you can beat people, if you are stronger than they are. Rob and beat with complete impunity.

Yes, that is what I said. With impunity. Let us leave aside for the moment the speculators and second-hand dealers who have suffered at the hands of the

"Lyubertsy"; as the saying goes, there is no honor among thieves. But the question remains: why are hippies, punks and heavy metal fans lumped together with resellers and speculators? Yes, we do condemn these lifestyles. Yes, we would like for them not to take such monstrous forms. But nevertheless this does not in any way mean that teenage hippies or heavy metal fans are outlaws. If the "Lyubertsy" were to try to shake down passersby for 10-ruble notes that would result in immediate and absolutely certain consequences. But when they take from their peers things which are worth an equal amount or even considerably more this does not lead to "certain consequences." The boys from the "office" are involved in what the Criminal Code designates with a single word: robbery. And what happens? This year over two hundred teenagers from Lyubertsy have been arrested in Moscow: for smoking in no-smoking areas, for disturbing the peace, for public drunkenness... But only a few were arrested on suspicion of committing a serious crime. And in the majority of cases that suspicion remained just that, a suspicion.

The militia is aware of what the "Lyubertsy" are doing, but the militia is powerless to stop it. Why? For the simple reason that the hippies, punks and heavy metal fans who have been attacked by the "Lyubertsy" do not go to the militia. And without a doubt this is what the kings of the "office" are counting on. But let us consider this: was it not we ourselves who created this situation, in which some groups of teenagers do not feel that they have a right to turn to the law for protection?

Without a doubt our experience with regard to informal youth groups has become quite diverse. But so far there has perhaps never been anything quite like the "Lyubertsy." When dozens of well-trained young men, confident of the correctness of their actions, lose those psychological barriers to violence which are natural in every human being, that is no longer purely a "youth" problem. Recently there have been instances of the "Lyubertsy" attacking completely ordinary teenagers, ones who do not belong to any groups, taking from them not "attributes of an alien lifestyle," but simply expensive, fashionable items instead, calling this "appropriation of superfluous things." What will the next step be?

...After leaving the basement gym, I stopped off on the way to the train station at the Slavyanka Cafe, which for some reason is known in Lyubertsy as a young people's cafe. Music was blaring out in the empty bar, and multicolored lights flashed to the beat. I involuntarily began to listen to the lyrics of the music. A harsh female voice was singing in English, some song about "strong boys who know just what to do." And who therefore get what they want. Of course, that was just a coincidence. Nothing more...

FROM THE EDITOR. This article definitely addresses a serious topic. Recently a large number of the so-called informal youth groups have sprung up. They are the subject of what we feel is fruitful discussion, discussion which is especially important now, on the eve of the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress. Informality and formalism, organization and excessive organization: how to stay inside reasonable limits without turning young people off, but also without letting all sorts of "fraternities" with dubious ideological underpinnings develop. Basically, a solution to this problem is one of the most important aspects of work with young people over the long term.

Drawing attention to the problem of the "Lyubertsy" is an action we have undertaken in conjunction with the weekly magazine SOBESEDNIK. Its staff members also went to Lyubertsy in order to find out the details of this problem. You can read the materials gathered during their surprise visit in upcoming issues of SOBESEDNIK.

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### DEBATE OVER GES CONSTRUCTION IN KATUN

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by S. Brobashov, under rubric "Commentary By Our Correspondent": "Near the Last River?"; first five paragraphs are source introduction, "An Alarming Letter"]

[Text] After watching the round table discussion on Altay Kray Television, which dealt with the ecological problems and the consequences of erecting on the Katun a series of hydroelectric power stations, we were perplexed and hurt to learn that the erecting of the Katunskaya GES was begun without studying the ecological consequences for the environment of Mountain Altay. Is this really possible, one might ask, after the catastrophe on the Sevan, the failure on the Ob Sea, where only one turbine is operating now at less than full capacity, and the development of a complicated ecological situation at the Bratskaya and Krasnoyarskaya GES?

But those consequences did not prove to be a lesson for Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification]. With unprecedented haste it is creating a new plan for erecting a series of GES -- on the Katun. This time also, the proper substantiation of the consequences that this will have on the environment is absent in the plan.

The plan threatens to destroy the unique environment of Mountain Altay, and its most vulnerable part.

At the Biysk Literary Association, a group of enthusiasts and representatives of the public citizens of the city, the veterans council, the All-Union Komsomol gorkom, the environmental-protection society, the regional museum, the travel club, and the travel bureau, came forth with the initiative "Let's make Mountain Altay a national park for our country!" And, in addition, the group recommended organizing in the city of Biysk a department of the culture foundation.

The status of national park is a very convenient and modern form of land management. It makes it possible to carry out agricultural operations and contributes to the development of tourism and the therapeutic network -- health resorts, sanatoriums, Pioneer camps, rest homes, tourist centers.

Mountain Altay is a unique corner of the USSR. Its praises have been sung by Rerikh, Shukshin, Zalygin, Rubtsov... It is completely logical to recommend giving it the status of a national park, thus making it possible for millions of people to visit here. -- Young inhabitants of Biysk (more than 1500 signatures).

The waters of the Blue Altay raged here, crying and groaning -- there was no outlet. They were surrounded by mountains. Bogatyr saw this, and pulled on his mighty bow, after putting a tremendous arrow into it. Then he shot the arrow and it opened up a ravine through which the water rushed joyously... As we can see, Bogatyr was the first hydraulic engineer.

We listen to this simple legend while we stand at the site of the future dam for the electric power station, on the bottom of the future sea. We listen to it and we realize that the last phrase that has been added onto the legend is not accidental. It is advertising. Well, some people might be accustomed to being compared with legendary giants, but the builders of hydroelectric power stations are not. "And then a tremendous wall was placed in the river and war was declared on the river. War, war!" The Volga, the Ob, the Irtysh, the Yenisey, the Angara... What would be the next?

The next would be the Katun... Explosives are already being packed into the deep bore holes, the bulldozer is already cutting into the foot of the mountain, and the branches of the wild rosemary are already covered by the thick dust that has been raised by the mighty wheels. What? You say that the plan has not yet been approved? That's no problem! It's only a formality. Of course they'll approve it. This is unstoppable.

But suddenly the redirecting of the northern rivers was canceled. This would seem to have nothing whatsoever to do with the construction on the Katun. But something did occur here also, something echoed back a response.

The project's chief engineer, A. S. Pigalev; the director of the future series of Katun GES, Yu. I. Toshpokov; and construction chief V. I. Usachev arrived at the kray television studio in order to have an interesting discussion about the stupendous nature of the future project. But the people who had gathered there -- scientists, writers, and journalists -- suddenly began asking "provocative" questions. "We cannot see in the plan any major effort to assess the ecological consequences of the GES. The possibility of polluting the water with heavy-metal compounds, of having to rebuild the banks, the possibility of flooding, of the intensification of karst processes, of seismicity -- nothing is completely clear here. No proper calculation has been made concerning what will happen to the bottomlands of the entire Upper Ob..."

"You are using such expressions," A. Pigalev said angrily, "that I am forced to be aggressive. Because I cannot, in the name of all my coworkers at the Hidroproyekt Institute, tolerate it when people say that they cannot see that any major effort has been made to assess the situation."

"But people who are equally competent had developed the plan for redirecting the northern rivers..."

There has probably never existed in history a single construction planner, or hydraulic engineer, who has said even one word about the shortcomings of his plan. It was felt that those shortcomings simply do not exist, and they cannot exist where something so stupendous is being planned. The shortcomings suddenly began when the roar of construction was replaced by the roar of the subdued water.

The originators and executors of the series of GES on the Katun (for the time being, it is planned to build two of them, but it is possible that several more of them will be built subsequently) refuse point-blank to accept the method of comparison, of analogies. They categorically assert that their plan is a special, unique one. But one could say the same thing about any GES: their production is not mass production, and not even series production. Instead, it is always one-of-a-kind. However, the sad regularities do occur. The originators and executors of the electric power stations on the Katun have taken an aggressive attitude toward those who attempt to express doubts about the irreproachability of the construction plan, considering all of them to be dilettantes and trend-followers (inasmuch as environmental protection is currently very "trendy").

Pigalev and Toshpokov's favorite argument: "But you haven't read the plan. But then you wouldn't be able to understand it anyway."

The argument, of course, is a very interesting one. Following its logic, public opinion, generally speaking, cannot intervene in anything.

Well, if it has come to this, let's try to analyze who, in this instance, falls into the category of "public opinion," which is a concept that is treated with such disdain in the statements made by the hydraulic engineers. In October last year, 80 scientists and specialists from 15 cities in our country met on the Katun. The topic of the conference on scientific practice was "Geographical Problems of the Katun Drainage Area in Connection With Energy Assimilation." The topic was discussed by eight departments, beginning with the Altay Kray ispolkom and engineer with the kray council of the environmental-protection society. The conference recommended to Gidroproyekt Institute that it introduce into the construction plan a large number of fundamental changes and additions. The approach was obviously not one typical of dilettantes.

No, it is not only that it is not the dilettantes, as the builders of the hydroelectric power stations would like to think, who are seriously concerned about the fate of the Katun. The major areas in which the construction plan failed to show that proper work had been carried out were mentioned by PRAVDA (1 December 1986). "The economic and ecological consequences of creating (the Katun GES) have been studied to an extremely insufficient extent," was the statement made in KOMMUNIST (No 17, 1986) by M. Lemeshev, doctor of economic sciences, laboratory head at the Commission to Study the Productive Forces and Natural Resources, attached to the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. An authoritative commission at the All-Russian Environmental-Protection Society came to the same conclusion. Even the scientific-research sector of Gidroproyekt Institute -- the very institute where the construction plan was being developed -- had expressed its concern.

And now the explosives are already being inserted into the bore holes.

As strange as it may seem, the builders of the hydroelectric power station have found reliable allies in the person of the administrators of Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast. They also have not studied the construction plan, and yet they express their complete trust in the wisdom of its originators.

That trust has its own selfish motivations. Mountain Altay today has an insufficient supply of electrical energy. Industry there is developed very weakly. And so the oblast administrators feel that the builders of the hydroelectric power plants will not only provide electricity, but will also share their construction capacities and the deductions to go into the social, cultural, and personal-services sphere. That may be... But there already exists in this part of the country the young city of Zarinsk, which arose in connection with the construction of a large-scale coke-chemical production entity. The city is not completely built, but the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is spending its departmental funds less and less frequently for the overall good.

"What do you mean? That the people in Gorno-Altay AO are not supposed to do anything in the future but raise sheep?" Yu. I. Toshpokov, director of the series of GES on the Katun, says indignantly. The question seems rhetorical. Electrical energy and the construction industry, manufacturing industry (but only processing, not heavy) are, of course, extremely necessary for the oblast. The entire task lies in getting electrical energy with the smallest losses (no large-scale GES exist completely without losses). And here the existing construction plan is extremely dangerous in that it has not been well thought out, and the consequences of its implementation have not been properly forecast.

But that, so to speak, is the view within an assigned framework. What if one attempts to take a broader look? The construction of large-scale hydroelectric power plants on the Katun was thought of as long ago as the 1930's. Much has changed since that time. The world has accumulated rich, fundamentally new experience in getting electrical energy from mountain rivers without erecting large dams, without creating tremendous reservoirs. As Yu. K. Yefremov, author and geographer, and honorary member of the Geographical Society and the All-Russian Environmental-Protection Society, explained to the audience of Altay Television, it is a broad practice in Europe, Asia, and America to employ technological schemes involving the so-called tailrace system, when there is a rather small intake dam. This technological scheme is ecologically harmless and economically cheaper.

"No, it isn't," the builders of the hydroelectric power plants will say without thinking. "The Katunskaya GES and the Chemalskaya GES will produce in a year more than 7 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical energy, and will provide electricity not only to Mountain Altay, but also the country's entire energy system. And your 'tailraces' won't produce that much."

More than 7 billion kilowatt-hours -- that's a considerable quantity. The builders of the hydroelectric power plants try to intimidate their opponents: just imagine what it would be like if your refrigerator doesn't work, your

electric razor stops buzzing, your television receiver stops working... That's the kind of catastrophe that can happen if the Katunskaya GES isn't built! But is that really the case? This, for example, is what Academician V. Ye. Sokolov thinks about this matter (IZVESTIYA, 3 February 1987): "If we could achieve the economical expenditure of energy and water, it could be that it would not be necessary for us to build any additional electric power plants."

Of course, the department -- in this instance, Minenergo -- will not raise the question in that way. But public opinion will raise it, and is indeed raising it.

In the city of Biysk, which is located at the confluence of the Biy and Katun rivers, which form the Ob, there exists the Parus Literary Association. It may indeed be that the people who meet there are dilettantes in the sense of hydroelectric power construction. But they also are participating today in the arguments that center around the hydroelectric power plants on the Katun. And how they are participating! The initiators of a petition to protect the Katun have already collected almost 2000 signatures.

People say that it is not only more difficult to live on the other side of the Urals, but it also too far and too expensive to go there for recreational reasons. People prefer to go to Sochi, to Gagry... And yet the area around Chermal, where the GES is being built, has absolutely no counterparts throughout the country with regard to its climate (the reservoir will change it for the worse, so that the tuberculosis sanatorium will have to be transferred somewhere else, but where?). In Belokurikha, rare radon water gushes out of the earth (it is not precluded that the reservoir might spoil that water). Many residents of Altay Kray -- too many of them -- have not seen even once either the famous Teletskoye Lake, or the turquoise Katun (the GES will change the color of the water). And yet it would be better and cheaper, and even more beneficial, for Siberians to come here on their vacations than to travel tremendous distances. Who will assume the task of considering all the alternatives for the development of Mountain Altay? Who needs that? For the time being, there is not even a model of the comprehensive development of the oblast, and the decisions, including the most responsible ones, are being made at the commonsense level.

No, one cannot expect any charity toward nature on the part of the builders of the hydroelectric power plants. They want very much for everyone to leave them alone. However, it is no longer possible to disregard public opinion. The discussion concerning the construction of the hydroelectric power plants on the Katun has been getting hotter and hotter with every passing day. It is a good sign of our times. Public opinion is not whispering in the background, but instead is rushing to the podiums, to the newspaper pages, to television screens. Whereas the builders of hydroelectric power plants never used to have any opponents and the builders themselves selected their experts, now there are opponents. The builders of the hydroelectric power plants are tacking and are still hoping that there will be no obstacles to their ideas. They consider the Katun to be their own, and nobody else's, just as they consider those millions and millions that have been allocated. Mountain Altay means nothing to them. For them, Mountain Altay is nothing more than a construction site.

Soon we shall hear explosions...

## MOLDAVIAN TRANSPORTATION MINISTRY SWAMPED WITH COMPLAINTS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 4

[Interview with V. Trifan, deputy chief of the Passenger Transport Administration, Ministry of Motor Transport, by SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondent V. Tseslyuk: "Is the Passenger Always Right?"; first paragraph is source introduction, last paragraph is editorial note, date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Our correspondent's questions are answered by V. Trifan, deputy chief of the Passenger Transport Administration, Ministry of Motor Transport.

[Question] Valentin Semenovich, for a beginning I would like to ask you to comment on the following fact: the complaints about your enterprise's operations occupy a special place in the letters to the editor. First, there is a large number of them, and secondly, the simplest computation attests to the fact that the number has been growing with every passing year. For example, in 1985 the editor received 195 letters, and last year, 277. How do you explain this?

[Answer] There are, of course, many reasons. One of them lies in the fact that we have increased the number of routes. Consequently, the number of complaints has also increased. Also, in general, nowadays people have begun writing more, and demanding that more attention be paid to them. It's a sign of the times...

[Question] I scarcely think that our readers will be satisfied by that answer. Does this mean that in the future we shall have to expect an even more powerful flood of complaints?

[Answer] Much is being done at the administration to improve the services provided to the passengers.

In our work we differentiate between two areas: urban passenger transport and long-distance transport. As for the urban ones, this question continues to be a painful one, especially during the peak hours. True, every year we renew the rolling stock. And the motor buses are replaced by ones with larger seating capacity. For example, during the past year alone, we received 450 vehicles. Half of them have been put to use servicing the people of Kishinev.

An important factor in the operation of urban transport is the observance of the motor bus traffic schedules. This is a reserve. And a rather large one. In order to use it, so to speak, for all 100 percent, we have introduced and are continuing to introduce a system of controlling the motor bus traffic with the aid of inductive coupling. I shall not dwell in detail on how this operates, but I shall say only that the driver who is out on his route is now in objective control of that system, and that he has a material self-interest in observing the traffic schedule. I must say that only rarely do the drivers fail to maintain the schedules.

[Question] Please allow me to interrupt this indisputably interesting discussion by quoting from a letter written by Kishinev residents Kiku, Bezhenar, Volkova, and Pantyukhin: "We live in the Malaya Malina housing area, and we are writing to you because we are sick and tired of the nervous strain caused by transportation. At the final stop, 'Oncology Clinic,' during the peak hours, five or six motor buses drive in every hour, and stand there without moving for half an hour. It is practically impossible to get onto a bus. Moreover, the drivers change the routes on their own initiative, driving the buses by whatever route that comes into their mind."

(Such letters, and there are many of them, somewhat contradict the optimistic mood of the administration managers. But let's continue listening.)

[Answer] At all periods of time we had interrayon and intrarayon communication under special supervision. Recently we have increased the number of routes to 250 and the number of trips to 400.

We continue to experience a tremendous work load on holidays and days off. Even though we introduce additional trips, even though we put on additional buses, this still does not resolve the problem. One thing is obvious: we shall not resolve the problem by means of the quantity of the transportation. The fact of the matter is that we have not yet had sufficient time to carry out the technological processing of all this transportation. In this kind of situation it is difficult to speak about the quality of the services provided.

I'd like to say a few words about the teletype tracking of the motor buses. This system has been introduced at 30 bus stations in the republic. It makes it possible to sell tickets at intermediate bus stations without waiting for the bus to arrive. The introduction of teletype tracking is a considerable support in our work.

[Question] I'm afraid that I am forced once again to interrupt this discussion by quoting from a letter sent in by N. Malyushko. "For more than eight years I have been actively using the services on long-distance buses, and therefore I feel that I can make certain conclusions. And this is what they are: in order, for example, to go from Kishinev to Dubossary on a Saturday or Sunday, it is necessary to forget that you are a human being. There is a tremendous number of people. Crowds of them. It is impossible to squeeze into a bus. And yet the automatic ticket machines keep selling more and more tickets. There's a lot in this situation that infuriates me, and there are many

questions that upset me. But I want to ask only one question: who does this benefit? It's rather strange, isn't it? Sure, the automatic machines are there, but what's the result?"

[Answer] Last year we built bus stations in several rayons, and opened up advance bus ticket offices in Kishinev... Everything is proceeding in such a way that we are planning to increase that number. Putting it more succinctly, we are doing everything to ease the passenger's life.

[Question] Well, in the group of complaints about the bus routes we have succeeded in finding just one positive letter, from our reader in Kriulyanskiy Rayon, F. Raylyan. He writes about bus driver Grigoriy Kramarenko, and about his attention and sensitive attitude toward the passengers. And, among other things, he expresses words of gratitude to the administration. Isn't it pleasant to receive letters like this?

[Answer] Of course it is, but it's a pity that that was the only letter.

[Question] Unfortunately, Valentin Semenovich, that's how it is. Basically the letters are complaints.

In this regard I would like to speak about the following subject. In the services sphere, two unofficial mottoes exist. The first is, "You can't please everyone." and the second is "The customer is always right." Which one do you feel more comfortable with? But don't rush to give a reply. Because we, for example, have analyzed the mail and can say in reply to several letters: "You can't please everyone." But there are also sensible recommendations. This, for example, is what T. Streltsova, from Grigoriopol, writes to us about introducing an additional trip. The same question is raised by our reader A. Melnik, from Kamenskiy Rayon.

[Answer] I'll tell you quite frankly that in most instances we adhere to the second motto. I don't want to sound as though I'm double-talking. We came to this conclusion: our passenger can embellish the events, can lay the paint on a bit heavier, can be excessively emotional... But if all this is discarded, the essence of the matter remains: he is right. He can see the true state of affairs more clearly. But not always.

We have remarked that in the letters (and the number of letters that we receive is probably not a bit less than the number that newspaper editorial offices receive) the frequent topic of discussion is the fact that half-empty buses are running along the bus route at a time when people are standing on the side of the road. But I want to say immediately that the buses stop only at the places that are specially set aside for that purpose. In her letter, Streltsova has described a situation when a completely empty bus refused to pick up any passengers as he drove along. The driver had acted correctly.

[Question] So it turns out that the person standing on the side of the road with his hand raised is not your passenger. Whose passenger is he, then?

[Answer] It's difficult to say whose passenger he is. But he's not ours!

[Question] I'd like to discuss now what appears to us to be the most painful question. I am profoundly convinced that he has been facing us since the passenger transport service was organized. Some passengers really don't care about who gets the money that was given to the driver as fare -- it can go to the state, or it can go into the driver's pocket. The drivers successfully take advantage of this. So do the checkers, who are supposed to maintain order along the routes. This has been written about repeatedly. And not just by our newspaper. Judging from the letters, there have been no major changes. And yet this is an example, if we may use legal language, of the use of one's official position for mercenary purposes.

[Answer] I wouldn't think of speaking so categorically -- that there haven't been any shifts. Yes, letters concerning that subject have been coming in. But I feel that we are doing a lot to get rid of that sin completely. We give a well-principled evaluation to instances of petty thievery. A number of additional measures to eliminate them have been approved. The makeup of the control personnel has been reinforced. Late last year we conducted training with the line checkers, and certification began.

We have established this procedure: if there is a repeated instance of stealing, the guilty individuals are dismissed from the job as being no longer trustworthy. Last year alone 504 charge-sheets were sent to the people's courts, and 1,113 to comrade courts. During the same period the guilty individuals were fined a total of more 32,000 rubles.

By way of control, last year the work of the Kishinev AK-2808 and the Kishinev Taxi Fleet was examined. Persons guilty of various violations were punished...

[Question] I agree that a considerable amount of work has been done. But there is a strange situation: we continue to receive a flow of letters in which the indignant passengers keep turning to us for help in finding justice against the thieving drivers. Letters about this have been sent to us by N. Zakharchenko, in Floreshty; I. Kastravets, in Kishinev; O. Ivasko, in Kamenka; a group of readers using the Kishinev-Chuchuleny route; and others. We received a letter from an indignant passenger in Odessa.

[Answer] Well, we realize that the situation cannot be corrected simply by waving one's hand. Planned work is needed.

To be completely honest, we used to pay more attention to the amount of money that the driver misappropriated, rather than to the theft itself. Of course we were wrong to think that way. But now the situation is reversed. Now we prepare a charge-sheet even of the driver misappropriates 20 or 40 kopecks.

But there is also in this question one aspect that for some reason is rarely mentioned. The passengers who inundate both you and us with letters about such violations sometimes provoke them themselves. One passenger may fail to take the presented ticket, another might fail to ask for one and then, when the trip is coming to an end, might begin to complain belatedly. And in instances such as that the driver, as they say, has to be caught by the arm.

[Question] Valentin Semenovich, this year we received many letters in which the readers discuss the low cultural level of the services provided. V. Tanasova complains, for example, about the rudeness of the cashiers at the Bendery bus station. A. Gyrbya discusses in detail a driver's boorishness, and their complaints are repeated almost word for word by war veterans G. Shovkolyas and N. Tsiku, in Kalarash. This alarms us.

[Answer] It alarms us also, and it has for a long time. One thing is obvious: we need a large amount of educational work. In this regard I always recall the words one of my old teachers of mine. He used to say, "What kind of 'passenger specialist' are you if you don't have a heart?"

Without a doubt, the worker who provides services for people must always have a kind heart. But you cannot ask each worker of ours to be kind-hearted, and so we have asked them, and shall continue to ask them, to be patient.

[Question] K. Struza, in Kalarashskiy Rayon, apparently lost all semblance of patience and, at the end of his desperation, writes us angrily, "The impression is created that the workers at the bus terminal take special steps to create lines like this at the ticket windows. Maybe they themselves ought to be forced to stand in those lines, and then maybe they would change their minds!" To continue along that line, maybe we ought to require the director of a garment factory to wear only the clothing that is produced at his factory for the mass consumer and not imported clothing; or to require the chef to eat food from the common pot. What would you say about that?

[Answer] Well, personally, I'm wearing a suit that was made in this country. That takes care of that! But, of course, we do not stand in line for tickets. Whenever I make trips to the outlying areas, I use an official pass. But that, of course, does not mean that we do not supervise the work of the ticket offices.

We are doing everything to assure that the services provided to the passengers in our republic are raised to a higher level.

Editor's note: While this article was being prepared, the editorial office received additional letters. In one of them, the author describes on 12 pages in tiny handwriting the violations in the bus schedules, the driver's boorish behavior, the driver's refusal to allow passengers to make entries in the complaint book, the driver's verbal insults directed at the passengers, etc., etc.

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END